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"THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT CHAPEL OF BLACKLEY IN MANCHESTER PARISH, including Sketches of the Townships of Blackley, Harpurhey, Moston and Crumpsall. By the Rev. John Booker, M.A., F.S.A." Of this work, which is similar in character and uniform in size and printing with the volumes edited by Mr. Booker for the Chetham Society, but which was published by a distinct subscription of 21*s.*, only 250 copies were printed. The few remaining copies of the volume are now offered to the Members of the Chetham Society at the same price as the Society volumes, viz. 6*s.* 8*d.*, or free by post 7*s.* 4*d.* Application to be made to John Gray Bell, Bookseller, &c., 11, Oxford-street, Manchester.

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Discourse of the warr in Lancashire
Edited by William Beamont. 1864

Vol.62

PREFACE.

"HISTORY, IN SOME OF ITS MOST ESSENTIAL MEMBERS, DIES EVEN AS GENERATIONS OF MEN PASS OFF THE STAGE, AND THE MEN WHO WERE OCCUPIED IN THE BUSY SCENE BECOME THE VICTIMS OF MORTALITY. IF WE COULD CALL UP CROMWELL FROM THE DEAD,—NAY, IF WE COULD CALL UP SOME ONE OF THE COMPARATIVELY INSIGNIFICANT ACTORS IN THE TIMES OF WHICH WE ARE TREATING, AND WERE ALLOWED THE OPPORTUNITY OF PROPOSING TO HIM THE PROPER QUESTIONS — HOW MANY DOUBTS WOULD BE CLEARED UP, HOW MANY PERPLEXING MATTERS WOULD BE UNRAVELLED, AND WHAT A MULTITUDE OF INTERESTING ANECDOTES WOULD BE REVEALED TO THE EYES OF POSTERITY! BUT HISTORY COMES LIKE A BEGGARLY GLEANER IN THE FIELD AFTER DEATH THE GREAT LORD OF THE DOMAIN HAS GATHERED THE CROP INTO HIS MIGHTY HAND, AND LODGED IT IN HIS GARNER WHICH NO MAN CAN OPEN." (Godwin's *Commonwealth.*)

AS Sir Thomas Trenchard was seated at dinner with his family at Wullich, his mansion in Dorsetshire, on the 2nd November 1640, they were startled by seeing the sceptre drop from the hand of King Charles's statue in the hall, and fall with a loud noise on the floor. Times of public commotion often cast dark shadows before them. There is a vague idea of some impending calamity, from which men create the portents they expect, and in this way the future precedes the present. "In the most high and palmy state of Rome," a little before the fall of the great Julius, strange sights were seen on earth and in heaven; and that much later age, which received Lily's horoscopes, and thought that

8 33 fol

comets shook pestilence from their horrent hair, was naturally troubled at the fall of the king's sceptre at Wullich, and thought it not to be without meaning. Though the king had been brought up in a most vicious and corrupt court, he had escaped its contaminations, which made his virtues brighter. He was religious and free from personal vices, but he dealt with other men's hands and saw with other men's eyes; and to this we may perhaps attribute his being misled by those about him, who had imbibed their contracted views of civil and religious government at the court of his high-prerogative father. On the other hand the age was stern and austere. Questions of civil and religious liberty were stirring and exciting men's minds as they had hardly ever done before; there was a nervous fear of some undefined danger to Protestantism. It was feared that it might lose its newly-acquired supremacy, and succumb once more to its ancient pre-reformation rival.

On the 3rd November 1640, the day after the falling sceptre had startled the house at Wullich, the Long Parliament was opened at Westminster, when that eventful chapter of our history commenced, from which, as a living female historian observes, "the great lessons of constitutional government are to be learned, where the prince was taught how fatal it was to exceed the limits of prerogative, and the people how dangerous it is to usurp the privileges of sovereign power."[1] In the spring of 1641 the Parliament, having resolved to take the militia into their own hands, of

[1] Lady Teresa Lewis's *Clarendon Gallery*.

their own authority displaced Lord Strange from being lord lieutenant of Lancashire, and appointed Lord Wharton to that office in his place. On the other hand, the king very shortly afterwards entered the House of Commons with the avowed intention of seizing and forcibly removing from it five of its offending members. After these mutual violations of prerogative and privilege hardly any measures were kept by the rival parties, and there grew up between them a mutual estrangement, from which the worst consequences were to be expected. Out of that time of anarchy and trouble, however, by a divine alchemy which out of evil is ever educing good, the English constitution at length arose with renewed vitality, and fresh safeguards for liberty and freedom. But the interval was dark, long and threatening. Two reigns had passed before the star of the constitution even dawned again, and four more were numbered before it regained the ascendant and again shone with its proper lustre and vigour. Whether, had there been more moderation on both sides, the same results might not have been attained without the same excesses, this is not the place to enquire. Our purpose here is rather to bring under notice some of the peculiarities, local or otherwise, of our great Civil war, and to acquaint the reader with some of the smaller and more domestic and noticeable incidents occurring in it. Like the hills in a country landscape the great events of any period more attract the senses, and are sooner seen and heard of, and history has long since brought us face to face with those of the busy period which is our subject; but a large harvest

of domestic incidents still remains to be reaped by the domestic microscope, after the telescope of history has swept the field of its greater events. Every time that an old chronicle such as that with which we have now to do is discovered, new features of the time are revealed, and we see the retired valleys which history has neglected while she gave us only the greater objects.

But in small things as well as in great history has its parallels. In removing the lintel of an old doorway at the mansion of Rushton Hall, in the year 1828, a missal and some other religious books, with a quantity of papers containing historical notices, were found concealed in the wall. Francis Tresham, one of the family to whom the hall belonged, was implicated in the gunpowder plot, and knowing that to possess such a book as that was at least suspicious, and that out of even the most innocent historic notices treason might be drawn, he had probably thus hid his books and papers to prevent their being used to his prejudice.[2] What took place at Rushton had its parallel at Houghton, near Warrington, in Lancashire, on 26th May 1851, when in taking down an old house there were found concealed between the plaster and the thatch two pacquets of original documents relating to the Civil war. These documents, nearly fifty in number, consist of precepts, warrants, and papers from the commanders on both sides, showing in much detail the machinery by which the war had been carried on in this part of Lancashire. Two

[2] Jardine's *Gunpowder Plot*, pref. xv.

villages in Berkshire, called Shefford and Brighwalton, are said to have been so out of the way and so hidden by woods during the Civil war, that neither cavalier nor roundhead ever found them out or molested them during its whole continuance. Such was not the case, however, with the village of Houghton. Upon it the calls on both sides had fallen heavily and been so incessant that Thomas Sargeant, its then constable and the supposed hider of the papers, might have added his testimony to the painful experience of a brother constable of that day, who said "there never were before such distracted times, especially for *constables*." Thomas Sargeant, the supposed owner of the house where the papers were found, having been constable and compelled to serve both parties, to avoid being questioned by either, thought it best to hide his papers in the roof of his house. From these Houghton papers the editor has selected and used in his notes to the present work such as bear upon the transactions of the war in this neighbourhood, and show what orders were issued by the commanders on both sides and how they were carried out.

Our great English civil strife, although a great war, comprised within it many of those little wars which our great English captain, whose memory ought not to be forgotten, said were his abhorrence. Within its own borders Lancashire carried on the war by its own captains and its own soldiers, a sort of local militia who served almost exclusively at home, and called, going beyond their own neighbourhood, marching "on foreign service." May, the

Parliamentary historian, in saying that there were in the Civil war more wars than counties, very much understated the fact. There were not only as many wars as counties, but numbers of towns and villages, and even very many private houses, either carried on war or sustained sieges on their private account, and aspired to have their achievements chronicled that they might have their proper share of the glory. It may be worth while just to glance at some few accounts of these sieges of private houses, which are a kind of domestic episode of the time and a feature of the war not to be overlooked, and some of which have hitherto not found their proper record elsewhere.

In February 1643, a party under the command of Colonel Robert Dukenfield, an officer of the Parliament (of whom some account will be found in the Notes to this volume), sat down before the hall of Withenshaw and commenced regularly to besiege it. In the house at that time were Mr. Tatton the owner, and a few gentlemen and soldiers under him, but their supply of ammunition was limited. They were stouthearted, however, and set the besiegers at defiance until their commander brought up two heavy pieces of ordnance from Manchester, when the garrison came to a parley, and ultimately surrendered the place upon being allowed quarter for life. On the 25th February, during the continuance of the siege, Captain Adams, one of the besiegers, was killed by a shot said to have been aimed at him by one of the maid servants, and his burial is recorded in the Stockport register. But some others must have been killed

and interred where they fell, for lying side by side in the garden at Withenshaw[3] no fewer than six skeletons were found at one time. Noisy trophies seem to have been in request at that time. A drum was carried off from Mr. Davenport's, (note 24, *post.*), and among the trophies which the enemy carried off from Withenshaw was the hall bell, which bore this inscription, "*Gloria in excelsis Deo*, 1641." This bell their commander carried to Dukenfield, where it remained until the 20th October 1807, when it was gracefully restored by the then owner of Dukenfield to the then owner of Withenshaw, where it now hangs again in its accustomed place, a trophy snatched in a time of civil discord and restored in a time of domestic peace!

Much about the same time, and by the same commander, the reverend Thomas Wright, the rector of Wilmslow, was besieged in the rectory house. After one, or, according to some accounts, two servants had been killed, the house surrendered and its owner went into exile, but although then an old man he lived to return with the king, and resuming possession of his living under an act of the Convention parliament, he at length died there in a good old age.

In February 1643 (there seems to have been a siege epidemic in that month) a party of royalists sat down before Norton Priory and besieged it. Henry Brooke esq., the owner, and about eighty men, who had a good supply of ammunition, were in the house. The besieging force,

[3] Barlow's *Memorials of Cheshire*, p. 121.

which consisted of both horse and foot, opened fire upon the house and began to batter it with their cannon on Sunday. Nothing daunted by so rough a salute, and seeing that the marksmen were very unskilled, Mr. Brooke made one of his men mount upon a tower with a flag, who jeered at them whenever they fired wide of the mark and advised them to take surer aim. Owing to the enemy's want of skill the house, says the chronicler, took no harm, and the enemy retired, having lost forty six men, while the besieged only lost one.

Crewe Hall, another Cheshire mansion, was garrisoned for the Parliament, and after a severe struggle was surrendered to Lord Byron on the 27th of December 1643.

When the parliamentary army broke up from before Nantwich and marched towards Stafford in January 1644, the royalist colonel Lord Brereton, being apprehensive that they might visit his house at Brereton, retired to Biddulph Hall, a strong place, which he fortified as well as he was able. Thither he was soon followed by his uncle, Sir William Brereton, a commander on the other side. Having summoned the house, the enemy stationed their troops and threw up batteries on Congleton Edge, on the west side of the house, but owing either to their distance from the house or a want of skill in their engineers, they failed for a time to make any impression upon the house, notwithstanding that they had fetched thither from Stafford a great gun called Roaring Meg, with which they played upon it incessantly; meanwhile the neighbourhood was suffering under

the demands made on it by their commissariat, and at length, according to Ricraft, Sir Thomas Fairfax was called in, who having changed the batteries to a rising ground on the east of the house, a shot from the great gun struck one of the main timbers, and so shook the whole house that it was deemed no longer tenable, and being given up, Lord and Lady Brereton and the garrison, consisting, says Ricraft, of twenty-six commanders and three hundred men, were carried prisoners to Stafford Castle, and the house which it had taken so much time and trouble to win, after being plundered of every article of value, was ruthlessly sacked. The garrison during the siege obtained information and supplies from a neighbouring valley by means of a domestic named Trusty, who passed to and fro' through a concealed subterranean passage or postern.[4]

But by far the most memorable of these domestic sieges was that of Basing House, which attracted great attention, and of which the particulars were published at the time.[5] This siege, after having continued at intervals for nearly two years, was at last thought to be of sufficient importance to call for the presence of Cromwell himself. Approaching the place with a great force, and having ordered an attack

[4] *Town Records of Congleton.*

[5] *The Civil War Tracts* not [our Lancashire collection], *a description of the siege of Basing Castle kept by the Lord Marquesse of Winchester for the service of his majesty against the forces of the rebels under command of Colonel Norton* 1644. *The Journal of the siege of Basing House, by the Marquisse of Winchester* 1644, *and Hugh Peters' Full and last relation concerning Basing House* 1645.

to be made upon it, the attack was made with such vigour that the house was taken by storm on the 8th of October 1645, and one half of the garrison of six hundred men were put to the sword. There were found in the house ten pieces of ordnance, a great store of ammunition, four hundred quarters of wheat, three hundred sides of bacon, two hundred barrels of beef, and forty thousand pounds weight of cheese, so that the garrison could not have been soon starved out. In the house there was a great quantity of money and of gold and silver plate, and many articles of furniture, of which one bed alone was said to be worth 1300*l.*, all which were given up to plunder, and the house was sacked.[6] Ralph Peters, Cromwell's chaplain, accompanied the forces, and was in the house after it was stormed, but while he only took part in the triumph, Dr. Thomas Fuller, the well known author of the *Church History of Britain*, who was for some time shut up in the house during the siege, it is said so animated the garrison to a vigorous defence that Sir William Waller, though he had sacked the strong house of Sudely, retired from before Basing with very severe loss.[7] The din of war did not wholly divert Fuller from his literary pursuits, and during the siege he composed a part of his *Worthies of England*, though he complained that the thunder of the enemies' cannon sometimes interrupted him in his quiet work.

A stranger who lately visited Basing House saw lying amongst the relics of the siege a number of cannon balls

[6] *Cromwelliana*, 26, 27. [7] Burke's *Patrician*, v. 473, 470.

of lead and iron, the fragments of an exploded shell, and some broken weapons. The noble owner of the mansion, the Marquis of Winchester, who was taken in it and sent prisoner to London, declared to Hugh Peters, after the sack, that he called his house LOYALTY, and that he would adventure it again as he had done though the king had no other ground in England to call his own.

Amongst these home sieges, which shew very strongly the unquiet state of the time, may be ranked the Lancashire sieges of Thurland, Hornby, Clitheroe and Greenough, all of which are mentioned in the following pages, and some of which occur there for the first time.

But of all the Lancashire sieges all mention of the greatest of them, that of Lathom House, should not be omitted:

> Where they raised midst sap and siege
> The banners of their rightful liege
> At their she-captain's call,
> Who, miracle of womankind,
> Lent mettle to the meanest hind
> That mann'd her castle wall!

Of this siege, however, the history has been written at length by one of its gallant defenders, and we need not further allude to it here.

This habit of carrying on the war in separate neighbourhoods, and on a separate account, as if it were an affair of posts, early made some parts of the country seek and earnestly desire peace. In the county of Chester, where this desire was soon felt, the two contending parties met at

Bunbury on the 30th December 1642, and agreed upon a convention, which, if the powers at Westminster had not disallowed it, had put an end to the local war so far as Cheshire was concerned, and had left that county to await the termination of the national struggle in peace.

In Lancashire nothing was more remarkable than the way in which the county was geographically mapped out between the two great political parties. It seemed as if it had been agreed to divide it into three great zones or belts, running from north to south. Two of these, that on the east,—containing Blackburn which was under the sway of the neighbouring house of Gawthorpe, Bolton the Geneva of the county, and Manchester its London, "whose courageous inhabitants fought most prosperously for God and true religion"; and that on the west which contained the important seaport of Liverpool,—were wholly roundhead; while the third or centre belt,—containing Lancaster the metropolis of the county, Preston its acknowledged centre and the seat of its law courts, Wigan which was strongly fortified, and Warrington which though less fortified was the key of the county on the south,—yielded a willing obedience to the cavaliers. The fate of the war in Lancashire was watched with great interest on all sides, and its success had its effect upon the rest of the kingdom. When Manchester, unprepared and suddenly summoned to defend herself, not only held her own but compelled Lord Strange and his forces to withdraw from before her, many other places took courage and imitated her example.

A war of this kind in general not only divides friends and neighbours but very often even creates divisions in families, setting the son against the father and the father against the son, and the brother against the brother, which where it occurs is generally marked by a bitterness proportioned to the strength of the ties thus severed. In the wars of the Roses, as we read, almost every family was thus divided:

> The son (as some report) the father slew,
> In opposition as they stoutly stood;
> The nephew's seen the uncle to pursue,
> Bathing his sword in his own natural blood;
> The brother in his brother's gore t' embrue
> His guilty hands: and in this deadly feud
> Kinsman kills kinsman, who together fall
> As hellish fury had possessed them all.
>
> (Drayton, *Miseries of Queen Margaret.*)

But our Lancashire civil war was happily in a great measure exempt from this bitterness of family feeling. In it, on the contrary, a result of the care and earnestness with which the principles of the one party or the other had been inculcated, the members of the same family were generally found on the same side. With some rare exceptions — amongst which must be counted Sir Gilbert Hoghton, one of the earliest of the Lancashire baronets, who was a cavalier, while Richard his eldest son was a roundhead—this rule was almost universal. Our Lancashire families having chosen their sides, the members of the same family marched all one way; and the Asshetons, the Rigbys, the Gerards and others form-

ing family cohorts, roundhead or cavalier, followed the same standards and fought in the same ranks. Where deep-seated religious or political principle did not sway them, the old men and the men of middle age espoused the cavalier side, while the younger and more fiery spirits took the movement party and were roundheads. Many of the leaders on each side regimented their tenants and their tenants' sons, who followed their leaders as loyalty or the opposite attachment swayed them in the quarrel. There were some, too, who were indifferent to either party, and armed themselves in mere self-defence. Our author mentions several regiments which marched with black colours; and there was at least one regiment, though not in Lancashire, which bore on its banners this general defiance:

> If you offer to plunder us or take our cattle,
> Be well assured we will bid you battle.

The dresses and arms of the soldiery of this period are well represented in a painted window in Farndon church, of which there is a copy, coloured like the original, in the *History of Cheshire*, (vol. ii. 208.) The king and the parliament had respectively a regiment of red coats, and there were also the purple, grey, blue and white regiments. Sir Arthur Haselrigge's regiment, who because they were clothed in red were called "lobsters," afterwards, when they ran away in the battle of Roundawaydown, got the name of "crabs" because they then went backwards. The parliamentarians taunted the royalists with bringing in an army of foreigners: and the latter retorted on them by asking, "How they could

object to the king's employing foreigners, who themselves entertained such an army of Hebrews that the muster-master had no need to use any other roll-call than the first chapter of St. Matthew?"

There were some curious weapons in use in the armies of that time. At the siege of Newcastle in 1644 the mace or morning star was amongst the arms employed; and on the 1st October 1643 a corps of one thousand two hundred men was raised at Oxford, and armed with bows and arrows, for the king's defence: while the succeeding pages show that large numbers of the soldiers on both sides were rudely armed with clubs and bills, and that it was a force so armed which contributed to the success of several of the battles of the time. The regiment with the defiant banner was probably thus armed.

Opinions may be said to have almost equally divided some of the educated classes of that time between the two great parties of the day. Amongst the lawyers, the lord keeper Herbert, though he contented himself with using the pen, and never put on harness, decided for the king. Lord keeper Littleton, on the same side, raised a volunteer regiment from amongst the members of the inns of court and other gentlemen.[8] Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon and lord chancellor, was at Edgehill on the king's side as a non-combatant, but ready to help if needed. Sir Orlando Bridgeman, chief justice of the common pleas, and afterwards lord keeper, who also espoused the king's side, repaired

[8] Campbell's *Chancellors*, ii. 614, note.

to Chester, where, though he did not actually buckle on his armour, he yet gave the citizens such substantial advice in the siege, that the House on that account deprived him of his seat for Wigan.

Chief justice Sir William Scroggs commanded a troop of horse and did the king good service on many occasions.[9] Judge Sanderson and Sir Roger Palmer, the member for Newton, and a well known lawyer, were silent supporters of the king; and stout old Judge Jenkins, when brought before it, bearded the Parliament to its face.

The lawyers arrayed on the other side were the president Bradshaw, who, though he never acted the soldier, did his party great service; Alexander Rigby, Sir Orlando Bridgeman's colleague at Wigan but not his colleague in politics, served actively in the field, and afterwards rose to be a baron of the exchequer; and the lord keeper, Sir Bulstrode Whitelock, who (except with his pen) only served his party as a deputy-lieutenant.

The poets, like the lawyers, were divided in their allegiance. Sir John Denham, who became a K.B.; Sir William Davenant, who won his spurs and was knighted at Gloucester in 1643; Sir Edward Sherburne, a poet of Lancashire descent; the gay Sir John Suckling; Cartwright, Ben Johnson's adopted son; and the attorney Alexander Brome, the Aristophanes of his party; with Cowley, Lovelace, Butler, and many others, enlisted the Muses on the king's side. Edmund Waller owned a divided allegiance, and wrote and spoke on both sides.

[9] Campbell's *Chief Justices*, iii. 516.

There were no warrior poets to ride "a colonelling" on the Parliament side; but Milton, the greatest of all our poets except Shakspere, threw over it in prose and verse a shield, like the shield of Ajax; and Withers the emblematist, a poet not unworthy of the name, employed his pen in the same cause. When the former in his "Lycidas" so plainly alluded to archbishop Laud, and men saw the prelate so soon afterwards brought to the scaffold, they deemed the man who had before said,

> —— that huge two handed engine at the door
> Stands ready to smite once and smite no more,

was both a prophet and a poet, and he acquired by it a wonderful prestige.

But if the lawyers were not all of one mind, but arrayed themselves on different sides; and if the votaries of the Muses also showed a divided allegiance; all the artists, on the contrary, were on one side, and that the side of their great patron the king. Upon the breaking out of the Civil war, when all attention seemed for a time diverted from the arts, Sir Robert Peake the painter left his easel and followed the royal standard. He rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and was in Basing House when it was stormed; but escaping the bloody fate which overtook so many others of the garrison, he was made prisoner and sent to London. William Faithorne the elder, the prince of engravers and Peake's former pupil, took service with him in the royal army. He was with him also in Basing House at the storming, and was made prisoner at the same time and sent to London, where he

remained confined for some time in Aldersgate prison. Like his brother artists Peake and Faithorne, that rare engraver, Wenceslaus Hollar, entered the royal army, and was made prisoner with them at Basing House, but unlike them he soon afterwards made his escape, and succeeded in joining his patron and the patron of art, the Earl of Arundel, then resident at Antwerp. Basing House seems to have been a sort of living tomb of the artists, for in it, also supporting the royal cause, was taken Inigo Jones, the great restorer of architecture and the builder of Whitehall, the sad scene of the king's last moments.[10] Another lover of the arts, Prince Rupert, who has been thought by some to be the inventor of mezzotinto, though attracted to the king's side by family ties, would have preferred it also as the artist's side.

Though vanquished, the cavaliers were not subdued when the war was over; and as

> E'en in our ashes live their wonted fires,

so they have left scattered memorials of their cause in our churches and on their tombstones. One of their epitaphs on an officer named Knyvett runs in this strain:

> HERE LIES LOYALL KNYVETT WHO HATED ANÁRCHY,
> LIVED A TRUE PROTESTANT AND DIED WITH MONÁRCHY.

But others were not so short lived. Another royalist after the Restoration retired to Winwick, which in Herle's days had been no safe place for a cavalier, but which, now that Sherlock (who had been a chaplain in the royal army) had

[10] *Cromwelliana*, 26, 27; Faithorne's *Art of Engr.* 1662.

become its rector, was a congenial retreat, and there in a green old age he was interred, with this epitaph which still remains fresh upon his grave:

HERE LYETH THE BODY OF JOHN PITT,
LATE OF HOLME, WHO DEPARTED THIS
LIFE AP. 19, 1694 ANNO, ÆTATIS 76.
HE WAS A NATIVE OF KIDDERMINSTER,
A LOYAL SUBJECT AND A SOULDIER TO
KING CHARLES THE MARTYR. A FRE-
QUENTER OF THE COMMON PRAYER AND
OF THE HOLY SACRAMENT, A CORDIALL
LOVER OF HIS FRIENDS, TO WHOM HIS
USUAL FAREWELL WAS GOD'S HOLY
ANGELL GOE ALONG WITH YOU!

But compared with Lawrence Hardman of Buckfold in Pennington, who was another of them, and the Nestor of the party, the Winwick cavalier was a young man. This man who had been struck down and would have been slain at the storming of Bolton in 1644 but for the timely interference of a friend named Scholefield, was buried at Leigh on the 30th April 1715; and the vicar has added this note to the register of his burial: "Lawrence Hardman, the last of the cavaliers that I knew in Leigh parish." He had attained, it is said, the great age of 105 years. One so old had learned, we hope, the lesson conveyed in the following epitaph upon another soldier of his party:

WHEN I WAS YOUNG I VENTURED LIFE AND BLOOD
BOTH FOR MY KING AND FOR MY COUNTRY'S GOOD;
IN ELDER YEARS 'T WAS ALL MY CARE TO BE
SOLDIER FOR HIM WHO SHED HIS BLOOD FOR ME!

But the reader, who is now introduced for the first time

to the *Discourse on the Lancashire Warr*, will expect to have some account of the manuscript and its contents, and to learn, if possible, who was its anonymous author.

The work, a small thin quarto, four inches by six in size, and containing eighty seven pages, is still in its original stitched parchment cover, and either by the author or some scribe has been most carefully transcribed for publication. There are in it few alterations of any kind, and each page has been neatly ruled both in the margin and at the top and bottom. When the work was written English spelling was very unsettled, but the author spells even worse than the ordinary orthography of the time. Like Claudio, he might be charged with "being turned *orthographer*, whose words are a very fantastical banquet, just so many strange dishes." In spelling Myerscough [Mierskoe] and other similar names, however, he was guided by *phonography*, and we may thence infer that the modern pronunciation of these names, although peculiar, is ancient and not incorrect. Throughout the book, perhaps from its having been at some time exposed to damp, the ink has sunk through the paper, and somewhat clouded the writing. After being buried in manuscript two centuries this book, which has been placed by its noble owner, the Earl of Derby, at the disposal of the Chetham Society, appears now for the first time in print. It probably found its way to the shelves at Knowsley by descent from the noble owner's direct ancestor, Sir Thomas Stanley, who was of the same politics as its author. It is replete with local and personal notices, which

the family historian and biographer will be glad to see, and while it contains some notices of historic events which are new, it gives others which, though already known, were never given with such fulness and particularity before. No previous writer has mentioned the sieges of Greenough or Clitheroe castles, and none has recorded the following characteristic sayings of three of the commanders who appear in its pages. At Preston we find Prince Rupert declining the town's hospitality with the characteristic observation "that banquets were not for soldiers" (p. 54). When the treaty for a surrender of Lathom failed, and the delegates had retired with a vaunt that they would hold out to the last, Colonel Rigby, the besiegers' commander, quietly told his officers, "he was sure they would not hold out long, [for] the smell and taste of their garments bewraied it" (p. 62). And when word was brought to the Duke of Hamilton that Cromwell was in the rear attacking Sir Marmaduke Langdale's forces, he coolly answered: "Let them alone, the English dogs are but killing one another" (p. 65), a speech quite in accordance with the jealousy existing between the English and Scotch troops, which is said to have been one main cause of Hamilton's failure.

In the county of Lancaster, although we are fortunate in having as many Civil-war tracts as any other county, and although we are still more fortunate in having had to collect and edit them so eminent a native antiquary as Mr. Ormerod, yet these tracts relate only to detached portions of the war, occurring in separate places, and none of them gives

any account of the war as a whole. Such a tract was alone wanting to complete the series, and by the appearance of the *Discourse on the Lancashire Warr*, in which there is a succint account of the whole war, with a full and varied relation of its events, incidents and occurrences, this want is now for the first time supplied.

Although the author has not thought proper to reveal himself, and perhaps designed his name to remain a secret, yet either from the internal evidence contained in his book, or by the help of other circumstances, we shall perhaps be able to look behind his veil and identify him.

(1.) He seems to have been not wholly unaccustomed to writing, and the concluding sentence of his preface shews that he must have been a person of some rank in the county.

(2.) He certainly served during the war, and from the manner in which he describes how Hornby Castle was entered at the siege he probably held a command in the neighbourhood. (p. 40.)

(3.) His intimate acquaintance with Kirkham parish, and with all that happened there, shews that he was particularly acquainted with that neighbourhood, and that he was probably resident in the parish. Of other events, happening even to his own party, either more to the south or more to the north, he was not so well informed: thus, when Colonel George Dodding of Conishead-in-Furness was made prisoner, he says "how long he was detained, and how delivered to me is uncertain." (p. 49.)

(4.) Whether a resident or not, he was clearly a landowner in Kirkham parish, for upon Colonel Clifton's inroad into that place he says, "he robbed my pore tenants his neighbours of their bedding." (p. 53 in the margin.)

(5.) By a deed of 20th January 1648 relating to the Kirkham charities, Richard Badger and others granted lands in Freckleton to Edward Robinson, George Pigot, James Ryley, William Robinson and William Davie. In trust to pay 50*s.* a year out of the rents to the preacher at Lund Chapel in Clifton-cum-Salwick, and to apply the remainder of the rents for the benefit of the poor of Kirkham.[11] One of these trustees, George Pigot, occurs in the author's book as a commissioner of the militia for the Parliament (p. 72), and another of them, Edward Robinson, occurs frequently, and once in connexion with Thomas Ryley, probably some relation of James Ryley, another of the trustees (p. 39.) These circumstances, and the mention of Lund chapel where it hardly seemed necessary (p. 67), incline us to look for the author's name amongst the above trustees, and it will also account for his seeming personal interest in Lund chapel.

(6.) If the author was a trustee of Lund chapel, and if as the *Notitia* states[12] Colonel Clifton set up a rival claim to it, his bitterness against the colonel, for which their political difference will scarcely account, is sufficiently intelligible.

(7.) Within the original parchment cover of the work

[11] *Report of Charity Commissioners, Lancashire*, p. 258.

[12] Gastrel's *Notitia Cest., C.S.*, p. 544.

there is pasted the following fragment of a bond dated in 1647, by which James Ryley of Clifton (again one of the chapel trustees) became bound to Thomas Robinson and William Robinsonn of Kirkham, the latter also one of the chapel trustees.

.....me Jacobũ Ryley de Clifton in.....
.....teneri et firmiter obligari Thomæ.....
.....Willm Robinsonn de Kirkham in.....
.....sbandmen in octo centum libris bonæ ....
.....Angliæ solvendũ eidem Thomæ Robinson ..
.....binsonn aut suo certo in hâc p'te ....
.....atturnat. .....utoribȝ administratoribȝ et assignatis suoſ ad quam.....solucõem bene et fideliter faciendũ me obligo.....toto et in solidũ heredes executores administratores meos firmitr p presenſ sigillo meo sigillato..... cessimo secundo die Julii anno 1647 ac anno.....n'ri Dei gracia rex Angliæ Scotiæ Franciæ et.....fidei defensoris &c. vicesimo tertio.

.....gacõn is such that whereas the above named Thomas Robinson at the instant and request and for and with the..... .....yley did enter bound in their wryting obligatory under .....ring dait the sixt day of May last in the some of .....o the comissarie of Richmound that the.....

The occurrence of these three names in a fragment so nearly contemporary with the manuscript, and most closely connected with it, seems to connect the author with one of the three parties to the bond, and confining him to one of these three persons to narrow still further our enquiry after his name.

(8.) No other person holding a command, and who can in any way be supposed to have written the work, is so often mentioned in it as Edward Robinson, who was a trustee of Lund chapel and had property in Kirkham parish. At p. 37, we find him in May 1643 marching as a captain under Colonel Ashton. At p. 39, we read that he with Thomas Ryley a young man that accompanied him were made prisoners and carried to Knowsley. At p. 40, we find him raising a troop and serving under Colonel Rigby. At p. 41, the author says, "I was present at the siege of Thurland Castle, and then saw the windows by which Hornby Castle was entered," while the only officer mentioned by name as having been at the siege of Thurland is Edward Robinson himself, whence there arises a strong presumption that this person and the author were one and the same person. At p. 50, Edward Robinson, who up to that time had been a captain, and then was become a major, is mentioned to have lost his subaltern Lieutenant Dandie at Bolton. And at p. 61, where mention is made of the cavalier raid across the Ribble into Kirkham parish, the attempt to seize Major Edward Robinson's horses at Westby Hall is related with such a particularity of names, persons, circumstances, and incidents, as could hardly have been known to any person except the major himself.

(9.) In all the foregoing instances where Edward Robinson is mentioned by name, and in the several other places, as at pp. 39, 40, 53, 65, 67, 72, 74, 76, 77 and 78, where the author speaks of himself in the first person, there is nothing

inconsistent with the supposition that Major Edward Robinson and the author were the same person. Captain William Pateson, whom we suppose to have a claim to the work, if he had been really its author, in speaking of himself would hardly have used such terms of self laudation as occur in the manuscript, (see p. 45.)

(10.) The times were out of joint, and many earnest men bent their minds to find a remedy for the distractions of the state. One writer, calling himself the Simple Cobbler of Agawam in America, professes himself "willing to help to mend his native country, lamentably tattered both in the upper leather and sole, with all the stitches he can." Some thought, with John Jones, the author of *Judges Judged*—by some erroneously, as the editor thinks, confounded with Colonel John Jones (note 148 *post*)—"that the world was lawyer-ridden," and attributed to that body "all the faults of the age," "who," he says, "have overpowered us these five hundred years." He stigmatises them "as hyper-prelatical spirits, domineering Nimrods, undermining pioneers, monopolisers of law to sell delay and deny justice in their congregational exchange, Westminster Hall," and adds "that their proceedings are cornucopiously full of pedler's French, and dog-Latin, or hotch-potch French and quelque chose Latin." Others proposed other remedies which were equally inadequate to the disease. One of these, also a cobbler, and whose name was Howe, a far different person, however, from the great divine of his name, who was educated and ordained at Winwick, recommended as his remedy

for the evils of the time, to close the Universities and burn their books, which gave occasion to this epigram:

> Oxford and Cambridge may
> Their glory now
> Veil to a cobbler
> If they knew but Howe!

Another writer, after giving a catalogue of the many evils of the time, ascribed them one and all "to the use of tobacco; the wearing of false adornments among women; the painting of faces, lips, necks and breasts; false hair, false teeth, false hearts and false everything; the cutting down of old timber and the destruction of ancient castles." Others, again,

> were for abolishing
> That tool of matrimony a ring,
> Wherewith th'unsanctified bridegroom
> Is married only to a thumb.

And accordingly, on the 24th August 1653, an act was passed by which all marriages were to be celebrated before a justice of the peace, While this law continued, a period of nearly four years Edward Robinson's services as a justice of the peace were frequently required to perform the marriage ceremony.[13] On the 2nd January 1654 he officiated in this character at the marriage of Arthur Ingelbie esquire with Margery the daughter of William Ffarington esquire of Shaw Hall, and his certificate of such marriage is preserved in the register at Leyland. His signature to this certificate, a fac-simile of which is annexed, shows

[13] *Hist. Lancashire*, iv. 388.

that he spelt his name with a double "nn" final; a peculiarity observable also in the name of William Robinsonn, one of the parties to the fragment of the bond, an incidental and undesigned coincidence which strengthens the suspicion that the author's name would be found amongst the parties to that bond. It is true that in the manuscript the name is spelt in the ordinary way, but this would be quite consistent if the author there meant to preserve his assumed incognito.

(11.) From all which considerations, facts and circumstances, it seems almost certain that, stripped of his veil, the anonymous author of the *Discourse of the Lancashire Warr* will be found to be Major Edward Robinson.

In the act passed in 1656 for assessing the county of Lancaster (Major) Edward Robinson was named one of the commissioners for carrying out the act; and on the 23rd October in the same year his son Edward, described as the second son of "Edward Robinson of Buckshawe in the county of Lankashire," was admitted into the honorable society of Gray's Inn, being presented by Francis Lowe, barrister. That one who during the Civil wars had played so conspicuous a part as Edward Robinson should escape suspicion after the Restoration, was hardly likely; and accordingly, soon after that event, he became suspected, and the following warrant, which is preserved in the *Peet MS.*, was issued to apprehend him:

Com. Lau^r *ff.* Whereas an order was made to set at liberty Major Robinson, he first having taking the oath of allegeance and supremacy and giveing bond w^th good sureties that he had noe hand in y^e late plott, and for the future will be faithfull and loyall to his mat^ie and y^e p^rsent govermm^t, notwithstanding which order upon good grounds and considrations wee doe hereby require yo^u upon sight hereof to take and secure y^e said Major Robinson and him deliver upp to the officer of foote at Preston. Our order and command herein yo^u are required to obey notwithstanding any former order. Hereof see yo^u faile not as yo^u will answer y^e contrary. Given und^r our hands y^e 12^th day of January in y^e 12^th yeare of y^e reigne 60.

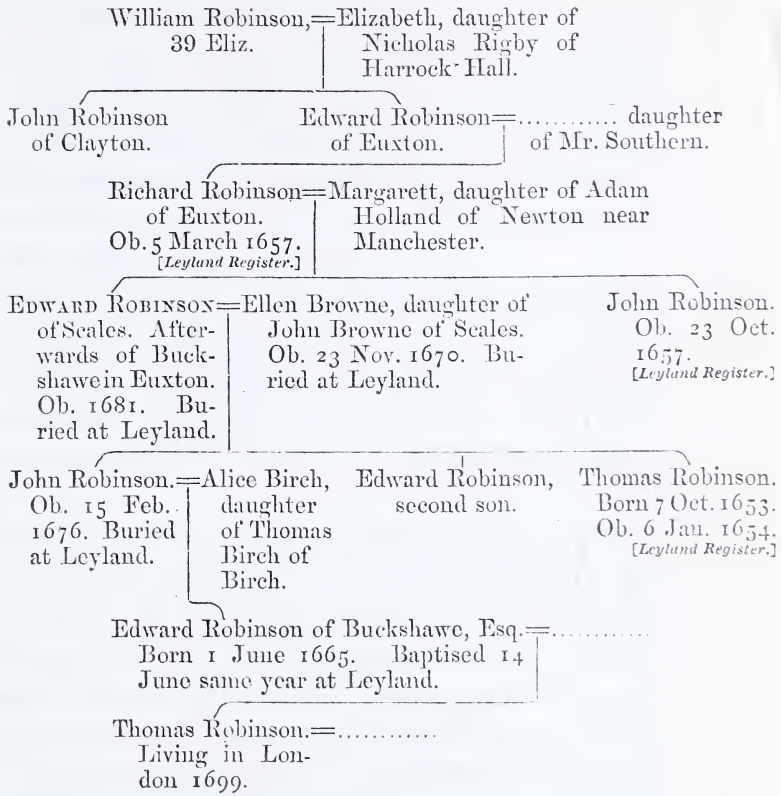
W. Spencer.
G. Middleton.

To the Comander in chiefe of
S^r Roger Bradshaigh's
troope at Preston, these.

He must have made his peace, however, for at the Preston Guild in 1662 "John Robinson armiger and Edward Robinson armiger frater ejus," both of them no doubt Major Edward Robinson's sons, appeared and were duly sworn in as out-burgesses of Preston.

Major Edward Robinson was at first seated at Newton-with-Scales in the parish of Kirkham. He afterwards removed to Westby Hall in the same parish; and about 1652 he bought an estate in Euxton within the parish of Leyland, and it is believed built there the picturesque house of Buckshawe. of which a view is given in this volume. At this house he probably died, for on the 7th January 1681 he

was buried in the church of Leyland. A short pedigree of his family is subjoined:


William Robinson, 39 Eliz. = Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Rigby of Harrock-Hall.
John Robinson of Clayton.
Edward Robinson of Euxton. = ... daughter of Mr. Southern.
Richard Robinson of Euxton. Ob. 5 March 1657. [Leyland Register.] = Margarett, daughter of Adam Holland of Newton near Manchester.
Edward Robinson of Scales. Afterwards of Buckshawe in Euxton. Ob. 1681. Buried at Leyland. = Ellen Browne, daughter of John Browne of Scales. Ob. 23 Nov. 1670. Buried at Leyland.
John Robinson. Ob. 23 Oct. 1657. [Leyland Register.]
John Robinson. Ob. 15 Feb. 1676. Buried at Leyland. = Alice Birch, daughter of Thomas Birch of Birch.
Edward Robinson, second son.
Thomas Robinson. Born 7 Oct. 1653. Ob. 6 Jan. 1654. [Leyland Register.]
Edward Robinson of Buckshawe, Esq. = ... Born 1 June 1665. Baptised 14 June same year at Leyland.
Thomas Robinson. = ... Living in London 1699.

The Editor, who would willingly have deferred his task to the able hands for which it was originally intended, offers his warmest thanks to those who have assisted him in the execution of his work. His experience of literary men, and

especially of the antiquaries, has shewn him that they both know and practise the poet's maxim that —

> Good the more communicated more abundant grows.

One lamp may light many others without impairing the light of its own. In no single instance has he applied for help in his task without its being cordially accorded. But there are some patrons and friends of the CHETHAM SOCIETY who must not be passed by with so general a notice, or without some special acknowledgment.

To the Earl of DERBY, the noble owner of the manuscript *Discourse of the Warr in Lancashire*, the Society owe their warmest thanks for his lordship's liberality in placing at their disposal for publication this the first entire and succinct account of the Civil war in this county and neighbourhood.

Dr. FLEMING, one of the founders of the Society, and for many years after its formation its Honorary Secretary, has gracefully evinced his continuing interest in the Society's success by contributing, as the frontispiece of this volume, the portrait of James earl of Derby, photographed from a valuable original picture of the earl by Robert Walker, which has never hitherto been engraved — a present for which the Society owe him their warmest thanks. Dr. FLEMING is entitled also to the best thanks of the Editor, for the access he has afforded him to some rare books in his library, and for several other valuable communications which have facilitated his labours.

The Society's and the Editor's warm thanks are also due

to Robert Townley Parker, Esquire, of Cuerden, for a photograph of "Buckshawe," the house of Major Edward Robinson, the supposed author of the *Discourse of the Warr in Lancashire*, from which the engraving has been taken which ornaments the present volume. Their further thanks are also due to him for the Robinson pedigree, and for other valuable assistance rendered to the Editor in his task.

It only remains for the Editor, in committing his work to the press, to ask the indulgence of his readers for the many defects occurring in his portion of the work, and of which no one is more conscious than himself.

Latchford,
June 23, 1864.

1792485

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Portrait of James seventh earl of Derby - - - *Frontispiece.*

View of Buckshawe Hall - - - - - - - - - - - *to face page* 1.

BUCKLAVE IN EUXTON

[illegible] Published [illegible] the Rev. Author of the "Discoveries in the Wall in Lancashire"

A Discourse of the Warr in Lancashire.

A Trew and Impartial Relation of
some of that vnhappie Intestine Warre
that was betweene King Charles and
the Parliament soe much as
Happened of it with in
the countie Palaintine
of *Lancaster*.

As also what fforces were raised, and by whome
what Garrisons was kept in it and for whome
and their redidition: all as exactly related
as possible, by him that never had thought
of writeing any thing concerning it till a yeare
or twoo at the least after the Warrs
were ended.

Behould how good and pleasant it is for
brethren to dwel togither in vnity. *Psal.* 133. 1.

Be affraid of the sworde: for wrath bringeth
the punishment of the sword: that ye may know
there is a Judgment. *Job* 19. 29.

TO THE FFRENDLY AND IMPARTIALL READER.

READER, thou (unless very yong) saw the beginning and ending of the Warr, and might see (if thou observed) how through the strength of corrupt and vnmortified lust boyling in the hearts of men the raynes of civill Gouernment being in part broken through the prevailing of Divisions and parts taking: so that many men shewed outwardly to the very sight of the world what then they were, and its doubtfull yet are (though now they be bridled and kept in thorough ffeare) Ravenous unruly without pitty, and such as were unwilling y^{t} those they then had malice against should have liffe or any thing to subsist upon; if the power they acted vnder had lasted and continued. Were not some fierce bitter and cruell as possible against their frendly dore neighbors, of whom before they had received many neighbourly curtesies, and yet in that heat of malice would have eatten them vp, if they durst, as if they had beene their deadly enimies and without either fear of God or shame of men would violently (without warranty of eyther part) carry away and perloyne theire goodes. These were judged and accounted before to be honest quiet peaceable and loving men and such as for a world would not seeme to wrong any in the least measur but appeared of other dispositions when they might doe evill with^{t} controule. And since the same men are soone to be much altered and reduced into order againe when the power of Civill Government had place and effect to represse and keep under that violent distemper of lusts in them. Therefore how ought all men that have any feare of God in theire hart to blesse and praise God for maiestrarie and civill government and for the happie change that he hath so mercifully without blood brought about, beseeching him to continue it and to blesse and prosper the King in his government that under him we may lead and enjoy peaceable lives in all honesty and sober behaviour

according to the will of God.[1] I present unto thy vew here somewhat of the Warrs, so much in part as happened in this County of Lancaster. I haue related without partialles as much as I could (though really I was of the one side) the bulk of it as it was gathered into my mynd by giving heed vnto and observing the severall passages and occurrences as they happened without all thoughts ever to have written any thing of them after, otherwisse I had not been so ignorant of many circumstances in it as may be seene I am. I was moved to this on a sodaine and many particulars of it brought in againe or as it were renewed to me by which I was provoked to set vpon it and doe what here is. Little help or information had I of any. If I have misrelated any passage about it, want of particuler knowledge was the cause of it and noe willfullness to bely the truth: noe mans person have I traduced to my knowledge neyther was desyrous to vex parties or provoake any persons envie if possible to prevent it. The generations that yet are, it being fresh and in memory, will not set by or esteeme of this or any other relation that shall be made of the Warre though the Generations to come may be desirous to see the particulars of what they may heare was acted in Generall within this County. For their sake and use is this in speciall done if soe be that Providence doe soe order that this Raged relation in soe pore a dresse be safly carried to Posterie, thir being no hope that enie ever will (if after correcting and enlarging where wronge is a wanting) get it to the Presse since it was done as it is, not manie have been acquainted with it or it come into the light; neither will be while I live. Reader judge of me as hauing noe perticular envie against anie man though never so opposit to the side I tooke in this Warr. And thoughe I sustayned never so much losse by his meanes in it. I freely forgive all and to speake Truth I verily thinke there was not anie man of my ranke in all the County where I live and of the side I tooke (who) was plundered deeplier, but God forgive us all. Amen.

December 29, 1655.

OFF THE WARRE IN LANCASHIRE.

A brieff relation of such passages and occurrences as hapened and were acted within the *County of Lancaster* in the tyme of the intestine warr that was betweene the late King CHARLES and the PARLIAMENT.

THE various dealings and dispensations of Divine Providence amongst men are to be taken notice of and kept in memorie that posteritie mai admire and praise the wisdome and goodness of God who rules and orders all things amongst them according to his ounc good pleasure and will, they comming not by chance and fortune as to many imagin. That part of these Civill Broyles that fell within this County shewes a Divine hand to haue over ruled them, considering that a handfull, in respect of the multitude, alwaies caried it.[2]

After that the Variance in January 1641 began between the King and the Parliament when he came so attended to the House of Commons, sitting downe in the Speaker's Chaire intending to have taken out of the Parliament those five members against whome he tooke that high displeasure that he never returned to the Parliament againe, but always removed further and further from it till at last he came to Yorke, in 1642 about the end of Aprill and in May or June following called a *Randevous* of all the Gentry and men of best ranke in all that County which did foretell that his Intention was for Warr.

James Earle of Darby[3] Lord Lieutenant of the County of Lancaster having forsaken the Parliament and resyding within this County was very observant of the Kinge and towards August[4] by his Deputie Lieutenants called a generall Randavous of most of the County to be houlden upon ffullwood Moore near vnto Preston where there was a generall shout for the Kinge against the Parliament and afterwards some (whom they had a jealousie of) were called before the said Lieutenants and demanded what they would contribute to the King towards the Warre.

Not long after that the said Earle of Darby accompanied with Mr. Thomas Tildsley of Merscow and other gentlemen of qualitie made a journey to Manchester[5] (as it was after thought) in a bravado to take a vew of the towne or take occation against it and being ther and in their jollitie in a window at Mr. Greene's some of them hearing a pore man of the towne (his name I neuer harde) giving out some words in favour of the Parliament one of them out of the house discharged against him and killed him. Who it was I never hard of certainty but Tildsley was supposed. Another levelled against Mr. Birch in the street who escaped by thursting himselfe vnder a Carte of Gorsses.[6] This was the firste bloode that was shedd in the County in this Warr. W^th^out any further adoe they leeft the towne then.[7] Vpon this Manchester began to growe somewhat fearfull and Jelcous what the event might be and to take care for their owne safetie and defence especially hearing that the Earle by his Deputies had called all the Souldiers of the Trained Bands within the County to meet in their severall Hundreds such a day of September, which caused them to Barocado vp the severall passages into the towne with gates and mud walles such as the tyme would then permit. And the Earle was as busie on the other syde to gather up forces to come against them. Hardly had they effected those pore workes before his was upon their backs.

For having drawn all the Trained Bands in the County vp to Wiggon with what assistance Mr. Tildsley with all the Popish and Volunteers the County then would afford (being all exceeding

earnest to forward the Warr) careing with them some small pieces of artillery march towards Warington fell doune sodenly vpon Manchester about the latter end of September afforesaid.[8] And some of their forces were laid in the toune of Salford, and Mr. Tildsley with some forces were laid upon the south side of the River at a house belonging to Sir Edward Mosley called the Lodge about half a myle from the Towne and from thence Tildsley with a Drake played fearsly against the towne att that end called Deanes gate, but did no execution worth memory, only this euill he did, set fier vpon a barne or twoo belonging to some Towns men that was full of wheat and other graine. Some assaults hee made at that gate but was valiently repulsed and beaten off divers of his souldiers being slaine there. About 24 September.

The Earle himselfe at . . . . . .[9] and what Horse hee had ranged vp and downe vpon euery sid the towne pilferinge and plundering, what they thought good from all especially such as they suspected to be favourers of the Parliament. As also theire Foot plundered which gave the occation and example for all the plundering that after happened in the County. About the midle of the week (for they staied but one week ther) Captaine Standish, a Captaine of the Trained Band of Leyland Hundred eldest son to Mr. Standish of Duxbury (who then was Burgess in the Parliament for the towne of Preston) quartered in a house upon the north syde of Salford, well up towards the Chappell, washing his hands in the morning at the dore, was by a bullet shot from the top of Manchester steeple slayne, which (as was thought then) soe danted the Earle that vpon the sudden hee with drew his Siege[10] and returned to Lathome and the Souldiers was dismissed to their own homes. Captain St[illegible] slain with a bullet out of Manches[illegible] ter steeple.

The towne of Manchester was weakly provided at that tyme to withstand such an enimie,[11] very few Armes in it and not many that had skill to vse them, yet divers men well affected to it and the Parliament came in with their best weapons to their aide and assistance and were very willinge and diligent to repaire to any place about the towne wherever the enimie offered any assaults being much hastened and encouraged both by the Prayers and

godly and chearful exhortations of that grave and Reverend Divine ould Mr. Burnes[12] who took small rest all that weeke but was still at hand uppon all occations to keep up the spirits of the people, with this perswation, not to feare or be dismaied, the Earle might not prevaile against them, which through the Providence of God was true in the event of all the countrymen that came in to their assistance it was not heard that anie miscarried but twoo young men that came from towards Pilkington who were slaine neare unto an Alehouse[13] standing on the Field East above Mr. Ratcliffe's house and were buried in a boulling Alley there.

Thus Manchester having valiantly repulsed the said Earle of Darby it pleased the lords and commons in Parliament the 6 day of October after to put forth a Declaration in Commendation of the Inhabitants of the towne of Manchester for their valiant resisting the said Earle of Darbie and to incourage them in their valour w^ch^ they showed in theere owne Defence and to endeavour to suppresse and apprehend the said Earle or any of his complices assuring them of alowance and payment for all disbursements or losses in that service. The said Declaration runs thus: —

Whereas vpon credible Information made unto this House that James late Lord Strange and now Earle of Darbie hertofore impeached in the names of the House of Commons and of all the Commons of England by the name of James Lord Strange for High Treason Hath in persuance of his Traytorous Actions procured divers Papists and other ill affected persons in a Hostille and Rebellious manner with Gunns and other warlike weapons to make warr vpon his Majesties subjects in the Towne of Manchester in the County Palatine of Lancaster and hath killed and murthered diverse in that Towne and hath robbed and spoiled divers others of his Majesties good subjects inhabiting neere the same. The Inhabitants with the Christian aide and helpe of divers well affected Gentlemen and others of that County have valiantly resisted the said Earle and his compliers and have hitherto bravely defended themselves and the Town. It is therefore ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament That such

Gentlemen and others of his Majesty's good subjects who have all readie hazarded their lives and spent of their estaits and all suche others as shall hereafter eyther with their persons or their purses give aide vnto the Inhabitants of the said town of Manchester for there defence and shall endeavoure to suppresse or apprehend the said Earle or any of his complices shall haue allowance and payment made of all such moneys or other charges which they shall expend or disburse in that service vpon account vnto the House of Commons. And such theire actions and endeavours are declared to be a service both agreeable to the law of the Land and acceptable to both Houses of Parliament and beneficiall to the Commonwealth. And whereas the said Earle is now beaten away from the said Town It is ordered that ther be public Thankesgiving to God for his gracious Deliverance in all Churches and Chappells within the County of Lancaster; As also that the Declaration be (then and in all Market Townes in that County) published. And that the Knights and Burgesses serving for the same doe forthwith sende downe a considerable number of those Declarations and require a speedy and strict account of the publication and performance therof.

HENRY ELSINGE, Cler. Parliament.

The Earle hauing (as was said) withdrawn his forces and guns Manchester did not growe secure as if no more danger would ensue; but like wise men bestirred themselves and spared neither cost nor labor for there own savegard and defence; for imediately without much delay wear raised up and put into Armes severall Companies vnder Captaines of the best ranke and qualitie in all the Townes and County as Captaine Birch, Captaine Bradshawe[14] Captaine Venables[15] Captaine Ratcliffe[16] with others; Commissions being granted by the Parliament to put the County into a posture of War for its owne Defence. And Colloncls allso apointed for every Hundred in the County. As Colonell Ashton[17] of Midleton Colonell Holland[18] of Heaton for Salford Hundred Colonell Shuttleworth elder,[19] Colonell Starkie for Blackburne

Hundred Colonell Alexander Rigbie for Leyland and Amounder-nesse Hundreds, Colonell More[20] and Colonell Egerton for Derby[21] and Colonell Dodding for Lonesdale. But the more forward in raising companies into Armes was Salford Hundred especially Manchester. And it is very observant what willingness and alacritie of spirit God put into the hands of the men of that Hundred ther being noe compulsion but all freely put themselves under such Captains as they Judged most convenient for them. And of those that first put themselves into Armes were men of the best affection to Religion and it may be thought that God pointed them out for their forwardnes, and zeale caried them soe out, To effect that Reformation in some things offensive in every part of the County where they came, that Eighty yeares and the Gospell did not, which was the pulling downe of Crosses in the High waies, erected through Superstition as alsoe some in Market Townes — witness Preston and others — takeing out of Churches the Booke of Common Praier, Surplisses Fonts and breaking downe of Organs wher they found any.[22]

The Captaines of Manchester aboue said after they had raised their Companies maid it their dayly practice to exercise them in Martiall discipline, and ther was erected in the Town a Magazine house furnished with Pouder, Mach and Bullet to be readie as occation was offered with a man that had charg of it as also a Court of Guard to restraine abuses. And as those provisions for the Soulderie was effected without delay soe was there great and costly provisions mad about the Towne to keepe of the enimie for there were Workes made by the skill of a Dutchman named Rosworm[23] upon euery syd of the Towne that was needfull makyng Skonces Fortifications and Mounts to place Ordinance vpon. And to keep their Souldiers in Exercise some of their Captaines and Companies were sent vpon designes advantagious vnto them. As Captaine Birch was sent into Blackburne Hundred to take in Townley Hall, and others were sent to fetch prizes from malignant Cavaliers, their enimies, as they did from Mr. Heppe an Officer and Tenant to the said Earle of Darbie that dwelt about Pilkington

Stand, for from him they fetched at the least twenty yong Cattell at one tyme. Others were sent to disarm such places they thought would be their enimies and vse them against them. Thus they disarmed the Town of Bury belonging to the afforsaid Earle and from the Church in that Towne they took away the Surplysse and put it on the back of a Souldier and caused him to rid in the Cart the Armes were caried in to be matter of sport and laughter to the Behoulders.[24] Hereby they became a terrer to all Caviliers near them. Nay that house of Sir Edward Mosleys called the Lodge wherein Mr. Tildsley was quartered during the Siege against them they pulled it down to the very foundation; And (as it is thought) mad on of his Timber trees for making them strong Gates and Barrs that they mad at every comming into theire Towne. And among other works for their Safetie and defence the making of Gunpowder was set on foot by them and made in the Colledge and accidentally by the snuffe of a Candle falling into some, as it was a making, it blew of some Slate of the Colledge and terrified the workmen.[25]

The Towne of Bury disarmed.

Gunpowder made at Manchester.

By these and other their Resolute preparations Manchester became famous all England over and of great esteeme with all that had a good will to the Parliament, It being the stronge hould and refuge for many honest men who had their dwellings in the Caviliers quarters to fly vnto leaving their families and Estaite to the mercy of their Enimies; But ther they were safe and had good Accommodation.

That Horid, cursed, and barbarous Rebellion of the Irish Papists being broken forth in October 1641 and many Speeches and much Probabilities that the Papists in this Nation should about that tyme have risen in Armes also moved the Parliament to give out their Order That all the Papists in this Nation should be disarmed, and their Armes laid up and kept in some safe and convenient place within the Hundred wher they livd And the Armes within Blackburn Hundred being laid up at Whaley Sir Gilbert Houghton one of the Deputy Lieutenants for the Earle of Darbie afforesaid no doubt but by and with the counsell and direction of the Earle and

Order from the Parliament for disarming of Papists.

Papists Armes fetched from Whaley by Sr Gilbert Hoghton and taken from him at Blackburne.

to make their Partie stronge called up the Trained Band of Amoundernes Hundred and marched to Whaley to fetch the said Armes from thence and the 16 or 17 of October 1642 caried them to Blackburne and quartered there that night. And that same day ould Colonell Shutleworth (hauing receiued Inteligence of his Designe) had a Randavous of the Clubmen of Blackburne Hundred upon Houley More wher they held a consultation what course to take about those Armes, the general vote being not to let them goe out of their Hundred but eyther Reskowe them or adventure themselves to the Hazard. Soe that at night hearing that Sir Gilbert with his companie and the Armes had taken up their quarters at Blackburne they silently fell down upon Blackburne beating up their quarters, tooke many of Sir Gilbert's souldiers prisoners seazed vpon the Armes. Sir Gilbert himselfe fled out of the Towne and the prisoners that were taken being brought before Colonell Shutleworth he released them counselling them to be honest men and keep at home — of which number was Sergeant Roger Haddock of Bryning[26] beside others.

The month before the fetching of these Armes from Whaley some of the most eminent Popishly affected Gentlemen of the County, when the King was come to Chester seeing and hearing his inclination to war prepared a Petition to him letting him know that they were disarmed so that they could not be eyther serviceable to his Majestie or defend themselves and families in the tyme of Actuall War. The Petition runs thus:

To the Kings most Excellent Majestie
The humble Petition of Us Inhabitants of Lancashire whose names are under written in behalf of ourselves and divers others beinge Recusants.

The Petition of some Popish Gentlemen of Lancashire to the King.

Wheras we and the rest of the said County your Majestie's most Loyall Subjects are Disarmed and not suffycyently provided for the defence of your Royall Person and of our owne families Our most Humble Supplication to your Majestie is That we may be received into your gracious protection from violence and our

Armes taken from us redelivered in this tyme of Aetuall War and by your Majesties speciall direction be enabled further to furnish ourselves with competencie of Weapons for the Securitie of your Royall person (if we bee therunto required) our Countries and Families who are not only in danger of the commõn disturbance but manaced by unruly people to be Robed And when by the Almightie assistanee your Majesties Kingdome shall be setled in ease we be again Disarmed that a full valew in Money in Leew therof to us may be restored, And we shall dayly pray &e.

WILLM GERARD. CHARLES TOWNELEY.
CECILL TRAFFORD. CHRISTOPHER ANDERTON.
THOMAS CLIFTON. JO. CANSFELD.

The King returns a gracious Answer to them and grants all their desire: which is as followeth:

To our Trusty and Well beloved
Sir William Gerard Baronet, Sir Ceeill Trafford Knight
Thomas Clifton, Charles Towneley Christopher
Anderton, John Cansfield Esquirs and
others our Subjeets Reeusants
within the County of
Laneaster.

Charles Rex

The King's Answer to them

Trustie and beloved wee greet you well, Wheras by reason of the Lawes and Statutes of this Realme by which all Reeusants convicted are to bee without Armes your Armes have been taken from you soe that now in this time of imminent Danger wherein ther are Armes [armies] Raised against o^r^ Commands and eontrary to o^r^ Proclamations and are mareliing against us And divers of o^r^ good Subjeets for obeying our lawfull Commands and opposing the Rebellious proceedings of others ill affected are by strong hand seazed vpon, and Imprisoned their houses plundered and their goods taken away and the like threatened to ourselves who as all others our Subjeets ought to have our protcetion against unlawfull violenee and fforce And the Laws made for disarming Recusants

were made only for provision to prevent danger in tyme of Peace and were not intended to bar you from a necessary vse of Armes in tyme of Actuall War for your owne Safety and for Defence of our person agaynst all Rebells traytors and enimies which by your dutie and aledgance you are bound vnto which is not nor ever was meant to be discharged or taken away by any Acte And wheras the Armes which were taken from you ought by Law to haue been kept and preserved to haue been made vse of by you in such tyme of oppen War or such other as you would provide yett under the speciall pretence of Disarming Recusants and persons ill affected your Armes have been disposed and dispersed into the hands of severall persons ill affected and for the most part fomentors and exeitors of these commotions now raised in this Kingdome Our will and comand therefore is and we charg and require you upon your Aledganee as you tender the safetie of our person and the peace and welfare of this our Kingdom that you with all possible speed provid sufficient Armes for yourselves your Servants and your Tenants which wee authorise and require duryng the tyme of oppen War raysed against Us to kepe and vse for the Defence of us and yourselves and of your Country against all forces raised, or to be raised against vs or against our consent or contrary to our Proclamations by colour of any ordinance order or authoritie whatsoever And we shall according as we are bound to all our Subjects vse our vttermost power for the protection of you against all Inimies and Violenees And whenever these Armes which you shall soe provide (after it shall please God to put an end to these distractions) shall be taken away from your custodie by reason of lawes now in force we hereby assure you we will allow for the same so much as you shall have disspended in provision therof.

Given under o^{r} Signet at our Court at Chester the 27 of September in the 18 year of o^{r} Reigne.

The Papists forw'd in the Warr of their owne accorde without any call of the King.

The propensitie and forwardnes of Papists to the Warr needs not to be set forth or agravated. This Petition with their Actions and endeavours made it manifest to all the Nation. They had a

good ground to haue been newter in this warr had not their spirits and malice against the Protestant Religion provoked them to it. The King by his Proclamation given at York declared against all concurrence and help by them when he gave stricte charge and prohibition that noe Papists should come within his Army neyther to be Commander nor Souldiers nor any other that would not take the oathes of Supremacy and Aledgeance. Therefore they thrust themselves into the Warr without any calling and soe haue brought upon them a greater burden of evill than they needed And howsoever the greate ones amongst them haue wrasled themselves out yet vpon the meaner sort it lyes heavy, the worst that is wished them is deliverance They thought they could have done all by their multitude And it may be they were conceited that if the King had prevailed through their assistance they could have forct him to set up their Religion els have given him an Indian Nut as the Book called "Rome's Masterpiece" set forth by Authoritie of Parliament shewes was the designe of many of ther leaders.[27] But I leave them and returne to o^r^ storye. The Indian Nut.

After that the Armes (spoken of before) were recovered from Sir Gilbert Houghton, Colonell Shutleworth and Colonell Starkie were very diligent and industrious to put their Hundred of Blackburn into a posture of warr, and therefore gave Commissions to severall Captaines to raise Companies. Four of Colonell Shutleworth's sons were made Captaines, viz. Nicholas, William Edward and Hute. Colonell Starkies sonn and heyre and Mr. Bradell's[28] soonne and heyre, then were the first Captaines in the Parliament Service in that Hundred and they raised Companies which proved stout men and were of good repute for hardness and manhood every where they came.

The Deputie Lieutenants for the Earle of Darbie were no less diligent on the Kings part, striving to raise up what Souldiery they could and to Garrison such Townes in the County as were emminent and thorow roads as Preston Wiggon and Warrington. Warrington they mood walled round about making stronger gates and fortifications.[29] Preston and Wiggon they did not make so Preston Wyggan and Warrington all Garrisoned by the Earle of Derbye.

stronge only some Engines maid of Tymber was placed in the streets of eyther towne to keep horse out.

Wiggon was better man'd with souldiers than Preston it being the next Garrison to the Earle's house and the most malignant towne in all the County: for ther was (for any thing that was hard) not many in it that favored the Parliament. The Earle being made Generall of all the Forces raysed for the King within this County, att a Meeting with Commissioners of Aray at Preston they agreed what forces should be raysed in it and what moneys should be assessed upon it towards the maintenance and also what the officers of that Army and Souldiers should have daily in pay. Their Agreement is as foloweth:

Att a Meeting at Preston the 10 of December 1642 by the Right Honorable James Earle of Derby Lord Generall of the County of Lancaster and Sir John Girlington Knight High Sheriff of the said County[30] Alexander Rigbie,[31] Robert Hoult Roger Kirbie and William ffarington, Esquires

The Earle of Darbies Assessment uppon the County toward the maintaining of Forces.

It was resolved and agreed vpon That the soome of 8000 and 700 pounds shalbe ratably assessed upon the severall Hundreds of this County according to an Agreement made at Preston And according to an Assessment for the Subsidy granted in the 17th year of his Majesties Reign that now is which sum shall be imployed for the pay of 2000 foot and 400 horse and also for provision of a Magazin and Ammunition for the said County for the saveguard and securitie therof and the said Moneys forthwith to be raysed and colected by such officers as shall be appointed for that service and paid over to such Treasurer and Treasurers as shal be likewise named.

And it is likewise agreed that Sir John Girlington knight now High Sheriff of this County[32] Adam Mort gentleman Maior of the towne of Preston[33] and William ffarington Esquire shall be Trea-

surers of the said some, and that they or any twoo of them shall haue full power to receive and disburse the same moneys and to give Account for the same to the Lord Generall afforesaid as his Honor shall appoint.

And it is further agreed that Sir John Girlington Knight and Roger Kirby Esquire shall be Collectors for the Hundred of Lansdale Adam Mort Gentleman Maior of Preston and Alexander Rigbie of Burge Esquir for the Hundred of Amounderness William ffarington and John ffleetwood Esquirs for the Hundred of Layland; Henry Ogle Esquire[34] John Brotherton Gentleman and Robert Mercer Gentleman for the Hundred of West Derby; Robert Holt and Francis Sherrington Esquires for the Hundred of Salford; Sir John Talbot Knight and Ratcliffe Ashton for the Hundred of Blackburne.

And it is also agreed that Sir John Girlington Knt. Adam Mort Gentleman Maior of Preston James Anderton and Roger Kirby Esquires or three of them to be constantly resiant in the towne of Preston and to be a certain Counsell there to assist the said Lord Generall and to receive his Orders and Commands and to give his Lordship an Account of their dayly proceedings from tyme to tyme. And they are lykewise to have power to call to their assistance Sir Gilbert Houghton Knight and Barronet[35] Thomas Clifton, William ffarington[36] and John ffleetwood Esquires or any of them or any other of his Majesties Commissioners of Array within the said County so often as they shall see occation.

And it is likewise agreed that William Smith Gentleman shall be Commissary for the Hundred of West Derby and Leyland Hugh Anderton Gentleman for the Hundred of Amounderness and Laynsdall.

And it is allsoe agreed that euery Captaine of Foot shall receive for his pay 10^{s} by the day, every Lieutenant 4^{s} every Antient 3^{s} every Servant 28^{d} every Drummer 15^{d} every Corporall 12^{d} and every common Souldier 9^{d}.

And that every Captaine of Horse 15^{s} every Lieutenant 8^{s} every Cornet 6^{s} every Corporall 4^{s} every Trumpeter 5^{s} every Horseman 2^{s} 6^{d}.

And every Captaine of Dragoons 12^{s} every Lieutenant 6^{s} every Cornet 4^{s} Sariant 3^{s} eorporall 2^{s} every Dragoonier 18^{d} Ketle Drum 2^{s} and to every Commissaric 5^{s} per diem.[37]

DERBIE.

JOHN GIRLINGTON.	WILL'M FFARINGTON.	ROBERT HOULT.
ROGER KIRBIE.	ALEXAND. RIGBIE.	HENRY OGLE.

If God had not prevented the Earles designes in this perticular he had brought the County to Beggary for how should euer 9000^{li} be raised within it, but all would have beene undone. He had but four of the Hundreds of the County within his power when this Order was made. Two Hundreds never complied with him and Providence soe ordered that those twoo Hundreds drove him quite away and dissipated all his power. Upon the newes that the King had sett up his Standard Royall the Earle put forth a Protestation which hee and his Complices (belike) tooke, which was as foloweth:

The Protestation of James
Earle of Darbie.

Whereas our Sovereign Lord King Charles hath set up his Standard Royall and hath required the Aid and Assistance of his Subjects for the Suppression of such Armies and Forces as are raised without his Majesties consent. And whereas by our Duty and Aleadgeanee all Subjects are bound to assist the King against all force and might raised within the Kingdome against him or his commands. In manifestation therefore of the sinceritie of our hearts and loyalty to our Sovereign and o^{r} duty to our Country to avoid all misinterpretations of our Actions wee whose names are hereunder written doe hereby declare before God and the World that wee will maintayne and defend the trew Protestant Religion the person honour Just and known Prerogatives of King Charles our only supreme Governour and the Just and known Privileges of Parliament and the Liberties of the Subjects of this Kingdome. And we doe lykewise declare that wee will assist the King for the Defence of his person and for suppressing of all forces and armies

under what pretenee soever Raised without his Majesties consent. And that whensoever these forees and armies which are or shall be raised without his Majesties eonsent shall be quietly laid downe or otherwise suppressed and dispersed We will quietly and peaceably lay downe all Armes and doe our vtmost endeâvour that all other Inhabiting within this County shall doe soe likewise. And wee will use our utmost endeavours to bring all those to punishment who shall during the absenee of sueh forees which shall be sent out of this County to his Majestie by any waies or meanes endeavour to do any Hostile Aet therein or any other Publick aet to the Disturbanee of the Peaee and quietness therof.

The Earles Lieutenants and the Commissioner of Aray hauing the Command of four Hundreds of the Trained Bands did also raise more Companies. In Layland Hundred Captaine Bayard had a Company. He was a fierec man and a great plunderer. In Landalle Hundred Mr Dalton of Thurlum [Thurnham] raysed a troop of Horse. He stood not long. What was raysed in Darby Hundred is uncertain. In Amunderness among the Papists there were severall Companies raysd under the leading of Mr Thomas Tildsley of Merskoe as Colonell, a man mueh esteemed in the Countty, most were willing to eomply with him.[38] All the Captaines raysd by him were Papists; but Edward Bradley of Bryning, as Captaine Thomas Singleton of Stayning Captaine John Bamber of the Lower Moore, Captaine . . . . . Butler of Kirkham, Captaine William Butler of Merskoe Captaine . . . . . Tildsley of Gosnargh and Captaine . . . . . Whittingham of Claughton.

There was not a man in all the County more zealous and fervent for the King's part than Colonell Tildsley was, not the Earle of Darbie himselfe, for it was thought hee forwarded the Earle more than he would have been. Hee was a noble generous-minded Gentleman. His zeal for the King's eause put him on so That having many well affected to him to folowe him; besides many of the freehoulders band whom he alured or eommanded to march with him to Warrington and when hee had them there would not suffer any of them to returne home, but compelled and forced them

Colonell Tildsley marched many of this Countie to Edge Hill Battell against their will that never returned.

to march with him after the King then returning from Chester and soe to Kineton Field and Edg Hill Battell whence most of them never returned againe.

The King's part (as is before said) having four Hundreds of the County vnder their power they had in them the Castle of Lancaster whom they made vse of to imprisen many honest men who would not comply to do what they thought, but they did not Garrison it neither the towne of Lancaster. Preston they kept as a Garrison making the Souldiers of the Trained Band for that Hundred the gardians for Papists for thither did most Papists of eminency resort that Winter 1642 and there had their residence till it was Taken by Colonell Shutleworth as will be shewn hereafter whom we leave for awhile and say something of Manchester.

Who Having raised many Companies vnto compleat Armes and in all things in good way and posture of Warr about December 1642 Some of their Companies viz. Captaine Bradshaw and Captaine Venables with their companies and what more is uncertaine, designed to march from Manchester as far as Houghton Common[39] but what further or what their design was not openly knowne. Upon that Common they met with an overpoweringe Companie of Souldiers belonging to Wiggon Garrison There was not much spoken of any great fight ther was betweene them or any slaine But Wiggon men being soe many enclosed them about soe that they were glad to yield themselves Prisoners above a hundred common Souldiers and Captaines Bradshaw[40] and Venables were both carried to Lathom House. Venables was detained long there. Bradshaw was delivered soone and not long after died being a very moderate man and of good parts. This disaster was a great greef and discouradgment to the Parliament party all the County over. But not long after this divers souldiers of Wiggon Garrison being ranged as far as Leighe towne some sixe miles of to Plunder a Company from Manchester having Intelligence thereof came in upon a sudden and took most of them prisoners. Thus the County was divided and at Defyance one neighbour with another and many pore men were forced to leave their dwellinges and seek

Captains Bradshaw and Venables taken Prisoners and carried to Lathom House.

This was in December the 24 day 1642.

Refuge where they could find it, in Yorkeshire or elsewhere who received hard measure from the King's party Especially from Sir John Girlington who being Sheriff of the County that year under pretence for the King by his agents such as Bryan Burton[41] maid seasur and Sequestered the Estates of many. Many men fled causing payment to be maid for them soe that both plundering and sequestering had their rise and beginning from the King's ptie.

The Hundred of Blackburne being put into a War like posture many companies of Resolut Souldiers being raised within it The Colonells Ouldc Shutleworth[42] and Starkie[43] having a speciall eye to Blackburne towne beinge soe neare vnto Preston as alsoe fearing inroads into the Hundred by the enimie besydes Plundering, laid some Companies of Souldiers in it and caused some fortifications to be maid about it in some measure to secure it and so till about Christmas 1642 it continued in a reasonable quiet condition.

Colonell Shutleworth and Starkie lay some forces in Blackburne.

But Blackburne lying within three miles of Hoghton Tower the principal house of Sir Gilbert Hoghton a Deputie Lieutenant for the Earle of Darbie and a Commissioner of Aray He tooke it into consideration how vnsafe it was for him in respect of his person and estait about Hoghton but especiallie how dishonourable it might prove to his reputation with his King, if he suffered a Garrison of the Enimie soe neare unto his howse and vsed no means to dissipate it was moved about the latter end of December 1642 to thinke upon the reducing that Garrison to the King's part. And thereuppon resolved to set upon it, having the assistance of most of the Popish affected Gentlemen in Amoundernes Hundred with there Tenants in Armes, the Trained Bands, and the Clubmen of the Field and other parts. He marched forward from Preston the twenty fourth daye of December being Christmas time up the way to Meller loan head soe vpon the North syd of Blackburne; set downe most of his forces about and neare the house of . . . . . a husbandman by a bye name called Duke of the Banke, and having a small piece of Ordnance plaied most of that night and

Sir Gilbert Hoghton's expedition against Blackburne.

Viz. ye 24 and 25 of December.

All their service was bursting the bottom out of a Frying Pan.

the day folowing against the Towne, the greatest execution that it did, as was hard of, a bullet shot out of it entered into a house upon the South syde of the Church Yard and burst out the bottom of a fryen pan.[44] There was noe nearer assault to the Towne than a quarter of a Mile. They wear afraid of comming near one another. The Souldiers within the Towne went out of it and dischardged there muskets towards them at randome for any thing was knowne there was not a man sleyne or hurt. Vpon Christmas day at night Sir Gilbert withdrew his forces being weary of his Siege and his Souldiers and Clubmen were glad of it that they might eate their Christmas pyes at home. But they did the good man about whose house they lay much harme not only in eating his provision of Meale and Beeffe and the like, as also in burninge his barne doors with his Carts wheels and other husbandry stuff. This was all the expedition of Sir Gilbert Houghton against Blackburne.

This winter was all spent in preparations and Garrisoning of Townes and to make stronge one party against an other. And Wiggon being made a strong Garrison full of disperate Caviliers and not above six mile from Boulton[45] Therefore for feare of the maliee of Wiggon Colonell Ashton of Midleton that was the Parliament man for the County laid Companies in Boulton and caused fortification to be made and kept it as a Garrison. And Wiggon souldiers made divers fearse assaults against it with litle sueeesse. Sic. The last they made was a very desparat one about the last week of lent 1643. Divers souldiers from Wiggon eame up to the mood walls shotting disperatly and were resisted manfully. At the last a son of Mr Alexr Rigbie of Brugh (whether a Captaine or souldier is uncertaine) mounting the mood wall, threwe himself over, crying "a Towne, a Towne," he with some few as disperat as himself was slayne, and the reste of the Companie being beaten off returned to their Garrison with disgrace. There was this Winter also divers Allaroms given to Blackburn by the King's ptie but with no effecte.

The Parliament was not unmindful of their friends in this

Countie but sent twoo expert Commanders to them, both to see their souldiers taught the vse of their Armes as allsoe to encoradge direct and counsell them— Sir John Seaton[46] and Major Sparrow.[47] Their most aboad was at Manchester and yet in other parts as occations required their counsell and assistance.

Now Blackburn Hundred being well provided of Souldiers, many companies in it of resolute men and Colonells Shutleworth and Starkie hauing received Inteligence from divers the friends to the Parliament in Preston of the state of the Towne and how weakly it was kepte and withall desired by them to help to free them of that bondage they were vnder It was resolved and agreed that they would try what they could doe to reduce Preston with all Amondernese hundred to the obedience of the Parliament (but it was exceeding closed raised) And in February their forces was gathered up towards Blackburne And together with some of Amonderness Hundred who were fled out of the Country for feare of the King's party. The abovesaid Sir John Seaton and Maior Sparrow being come downe from Manchester to assist and give them theire Counsell They marched somewhat late towards the evening the seaventh of ffebruary afforesaid to Preston having quited Ribble Bridge they drew vp theire whole bodie into the ffieldes the foot way from the Bridge to the towne making a stand for a litle spaee in a close of Ground.[48] Some companies were drawne by the guidans of those that well knew the towne Towardes the House of Correction to enter there at the Fryars Gate Barrs Whereas the maine body of the Army came vp at a lane at the East Barres where the Watter voides the towne. The souldiers that were within resisted all they could. The Maior of the Towne Mr Adam Mort came up to the souldiers very fearsly but was sleyn in a short spaee. Rateliffe Hoghton brother to Sir Gilbert being in the street with Doctor Westby a Phisitian and twoo buchers (butchers) of the towne one of them called Mitton making resistance were all sleyne. As the souldiers passed along the streets though they found no resistance yet such was theire fear and fury that with their Muskett and Pykes and Clubmen

Preston was taken the 8 of ffebruary.

Preston taken by Blackburn forces the 7 ffebruary 1642.

The Maior of Preston Mr. Mort slayne.

Rateliffe Hoghton Dr. Westbie and two Buchers slayne.

with their Staves they brake the glass windows on both syde the streetes within their reach, which was to no purpose and pittifull to behould.

Sir Gilbert Houghton was said to be in the towne when it was entered and escaped leaving his hat behind him[49] (as it was said). And though there had been many Papists in it all the Winter before of the best ranke yet were they all gone. There were a great many of Prisoners taken Souldiers and others. The towne thus reduced to the Parliament, the prisoners taken and in hould, were in tyme fairly delivered And the week following Colonell Shutleworth sent out his Preecpts into all the Hundred to summon them to appeare before him and yeald their subiection, who accordingly came in (to the outward appearance) willingly and seemed to be Joyfull but it was but dissimulation, for feare, as afterward appeared.

Then the Commanders for the Parliament in Preston begin to fortifie the Towne in many places, calling helpe to performe it out of the Country. They erect a strong Sconce upon the Marsh to command the fords over Ribble both waies, all this labour being vain for it was neuer made vse of. They also send some companies of Souldiers to Houghton Tower who seazed upon it and kepte Garrison there. But a fearfull accident befell them to their losse and greef for through want of heedfullnesse some Gunpowder was set on fyer which blew upp and threw downe some part of the House and slew divers Souldiers amongst whome Captaine ..... Starkie the Colonell son[50] was one which was greate sorrowe to his Father.

The Castle at Lancaster Garrisoned.

Alsoe they sent some Companies to Lancaster to take in the Castle a strong hould and not thought vpon by the Enimie all the while the Hundred of Lonsdall was vnder their power. All the Prisoners they found in it eyther for felonie or debt they sett them att Libertie and Captaine William Shutleworth[51] had the charge thereof who was slaine there as will be shewed below.

The Caviliers in Poulton p'ish suddenly appeare in a bodye.

About ten or twelve days after the taking of Preston on a Lord's day in the morning appeared not far from Poulton, on horses, a

greate Companie of Gentlemen with Mr Alexander Rigbie of Layton a Commissioner of Array[52] with other Popish Captaines for the Kings partie, as Captaine Singleton Captaine Bamber with other malignants of that part of the County as if they intended some commotion. And it put the people there about at Warbriek and Bisbame in feare of them, for they kept themselves in a bodie soe that the people were glad to betake themselves to what weapons they had for their defence. At the last the Gentlemen betook them selves to a house and there abode till after dinner tyme, then they road northward, for they were afraid of being apprehended which was the cause of their convention at that tyme. But it was a needless feare for Colonell Shutleworth[53] carried the matter soe mildly and gently that hee made not much enquiry or search after eyther the persons or armes of any of the contrary partie, letting them rest quietly at their homes, as these did, and might have done, if their owne feares had not caused them to leave the country.[54]

After this there seemed to be a silent securitie all the County over, yet on a sudden an accident fell out that put all into feare againe as if a great mischieffe were comminge. A Ship of Spaine being wynd driven was thrusten into the ebe seas upon the baek of Rossall and being in danger not knowing where they were eyther how to come into any Harbour or to get off They discharged their Ordinance three or four days together ryding at Anchor. It was presently Judged to be some of the King's party that was come with Souldiers to aid the King's partie and Drive Shutleworth and his companies away; but continuing soe longe discharging ther Ordenance and not making up to laude those that had knowledge of such affaires Judged them to bee some strangers, and that the cause of their Shooting so often was for some to come to them to helpe and guide them into the Harbour. At the last a Seafaring man of the country . . . . . a pilot took Boat and went vp to them and found them to bee Spaniards bound for the Low Countries with men to be brought thither to be exercised in Armes; but haueing been long tossed upon the Seas the

men were growne most of them, especially the meaner sort very feeble and weak and that their much shooting was to be holpen into the Harbour which he accordingly did bringing the Ship into the mouth of Wyre landing herselfe upon Rossall side. She was of a great Burden, such a one as was never landed in Wyre watter in any man's memory then alive. She carried many great peeces of Brasse Ordenances whose report was hard most of the country over when any of them were discharged. It was a wonder to the Country to see such a one.

The Commanders for the Parliament made seasur vpon the Shippe for the Parliaments advantage which being made known to the Earle of Darbie He, stirred vp with envie came with a slender Troop of horse over Ribble the . . . . . late at night being Saturday and lodged at Lytham Hall with M^r^ Clifton And the very same day four Companies of Souldiers all foote were marched from Preston down into the ffylde towards the Shippe quartering that night in Poulton and Singleton under the conduction of Maior Sparrow who on the Lords day in the morning drew them altogether into a bodye in Poulton sending Scoutes to espy if they could hear any thing of the Earle's stirring or his designe what it was. At last having discovered the Earle in the Common called the Hoes[55] marching towards Rossall all his Companie hauing theer swords drawne they returned to Sparrow with this news who (as it was then thought) to avoid the Earle drew all his Companies to Wyre and ferying them over marched all along it, till he came over against where the Shipp lay being as feard of the Earle as the Earle was of him. Now the Earle ride directly to the Shipp and caused it to be entered into. And finding in it or about it Colonell George Dodding and M^r^ Townson of Lancaster being friends to the Parliament, and come to see it, He caused them to be apprehended and the Shipp to be fired carying the Gentlemen away. He returned in haste and on his returne entered into Rossall Hall causing it to be sought for Armes carying all that was found away with him with some of the chiefest persons that belonged to the Shipp as well women as men and (as it was then

The Earle of Derbie with a Troop went to the Shipp, set it on fyre, and taking Colonell Dodding and Mr. Townson Prisoners, returned home.

thought) was affraid to stay in the ffylde that night went home, very late, to Lathom.

The Ship being on fyre, alwaies as the fyer burned it down to the ordenance they discharged till it was burned down to the watter, the Ordenance falling some into the bottom of the Shipe and some into the watter. Yet the Parliament Commanders had an eye upon the Ordenance to preserve them out of their Enimies hands (though they studed them litle for any thing that was hard) and Boats were brought there to convey them downe Loyne to Lancaster and they were laid in the Castle Guard where they were kept and preserved till after the Earle had beene and burned part of the Towne as shall be related.

Maior Sparrow with his four hundred men did noe service for saving the Shipe by his marching over Wyre: whereas if he had been resolut and had marched his men into Rossall Warranry (in Fleetwood) he might have been able both to have savegarded the Shipp as also to have defended himself[56] and them and have turned the Earle backe againe with disgrace. This way he was advysed to take before he quitted Poulton; but it was then judged a safe way and easy to sleep in a whole hyde; and hee and his companie returned to Preston without Danger.[57] The rest of the pore creatures that were in the Shipp, besides what the Earle took with him weare all turned into the Country to fend for themselves as they could, being almost starved. Some died in the Country of extreme povertie of bodye, taken on Shipboard for want of meat, soe that when they had plenty of it, nature was not able to recover them. The rest all of them went Southward and were never hard more of.

Maior Sparrow's dastardliness in not endeavouring to withstand the Earle.

Lancaster, Preston, the Ship Ordenance, with the whole Country round about, being in the Parliaments power and many Companies of Souldiers lying in Preston, some distrust and dislike fell betweene Sir John Seaton and some of them. What the occasion was, few knew; but the fury of the Souldiers was so bent against him, that they threatened his death: yet God so ordered that there was no harme.[58]

The Earle of Darbie having burnt the Shipp (as is before said) yet hearing that the Ordenance out of it was conveyed to Lancaster, taking counsell with his Captaines and Officers, it was resolved to try whether or not they could recover the Ordenances to themselves with Lancaster Castle allso. And therefore they mustered and gathared up all the Forces they had or could raise in Darbie and Layland Hundreds and marched them over Ribble into the Fyld, carying with them a litle piece of Ordenance. The Earle himselfe quartered that night at Lytham againe and his forces were quartered in or about Kirkham and the Souldiers with vagabound women that folowed after them, made grete enquiries to know the dwellings of the Roundheads from whom they plundered horses pewter brasse bedding and what els they could carry, from some the value of 20li at that tyme. The Earle by his Officers that night issued out Warrants all the flyld country over commanding all above 16 years old and under 60 uppon payne of death to be and appeare before his Honor at Kirkham the next morning by 8 of clock in their best weapons to attend the King's service, which was obeyed of all the Country. And having taken a view of them being come from Lytham Hall to Kirkham, great words and threats were used by his Officers against any that shewed unwillingness to obey their commands. And he, with his officers being ready every man was commanded upon pain of death to march. Over the Club men thus sodenlie raised there were Captaines appointed. John Hoole of Singleton was maid a Captaine and one John Ambrose of Plumpton parish an other. What more is uncertain. To Lancaster was their march through Treales, Wharles and Rosaker, and whoever had the tytle of Roundhead in their way, from them they took what they lyked. It was said the Earle himself stayed at Elswick[59] whilst his Companie plundered Mr. William Swarbrecke's Books,[60] a blemis and stain to his honour — if true.

Captains set over the Club men.

Upon Fryday the . . . . . they entered the Towne of Lancaster severall waies, there being very few Souldiers if any, to resist them save those that kept the Castle. Captaine William Shutle-

worth[61] and some souldiers with him being not far from the Castle and not being wary of their entrance at soe severall waies was sodenly surprized and slayne before he could recover it. Such was their cruelty that they set fyre upon the towne in several parts of it, having none to withstand them. In the hart of the Towne they burned divers of the most eminent houses. That long street from the Whit croft[62] all was burned Dwelling houses barnes corne hay cattell in their stalls. The Club men plundered unmercifully carrying great packets home with them. But the Castle they could not enter; yet spoyled the Towne (where was not many Enimies to them) causelessly and hauing done spoyle more than suffieient returned homewarde.

The Earle burneth Lancaster Towne that was no Enemie to him.

When it was known to the Parliament partie that the Earle was in the Feild Country raysing forces and mareching to Lancaster Colonell Ashton of Midleton being Generall for the Parliament in this County he made what possible speed he could (lying so far remote) to give releefe to Lancaster calling the forces in Salford up marched thorow Preston vpon Saturne-day the . . . . . day of March towards Lancaster many Companies folowing that day, Sunday and Monday, the Earle lingering all those daies till Monday farr in the afternoone one purpose to avoid the meeting of the Colonell having received Intelligence of his coming. And when he had certain knowledge that the Colonell was mareching one way to Lancaster he came the other way to avoid him and being quit of him he then marched spedily towards Preston, his design being to surprize Preston that night. Yet he made a stay at the lower syde of ffullwood More taking especiall care to stop all Intelligence from Preston of his coming soe that there was no word of him so near till very late at night that the Scouts sent out of Preston discovered him who brought a fearfull allarum into the towne. And then preparation was made for resistance. The Fryars Gate Barrs was strongly guarded with men,[63] but the nearer the Earle approached the Towne the lesse and weaker it waxed for the Townes men were generally disaffected to the Parliament. And for Strangers of the Parliament part that were accidentally within

The Earle of Derby not willing to meet Colonell Ashton's Army.

The towns men of Preston generally disaffected to the Parliament.

it their care was more how they might provide for their saftie, leave it, and escap, then how to keep it, which many did.

Ould Colonell Shutleworth of the first sort got his horse and homeward. Many strangers were cruelly betrayed by base and false Hostlers who had boulted the Stable doors uppon their horses and avoided out of the way the keyes thereof soe that they could not have them but were taken loosing their Horses and some having their horses were glad they escaped them[selves].[64] Then the Earle's forces comming up to the ffryars Gate Barres discharged that litle peece of Ordenance they caried with them, divers times into the towne the Clubmen shouting vehemently. At last without any resistance they entered and their Horse coursed about the Towne to the East end and to Ribble Bridge, which they guarded that none could fly that way.

Preston regained by the Earle of Darby.

Thus was the Earle possessed of the Towne againe for the King. Many Prisoners were taken, some of quality, their horses being treacherously locked from them (as affore is said). The daye following the Souldiers fell to their ould course of Plundering of such as they hard had showed themselves favourers of the Parliament partie when they had the towne. Especiallie some Commanders were forward therein, yea, Master Tildsley was much busied about Mr. Edmund Wearden's house, that way. And Mr. Hugh Anderton of Euxton about the shop of Henry Tailor; and others more not so obvious. They made not long aboad in the towne but when they had gotten what they could by plundering or of the Prisoners the Clubmen were first discharged and the reste within awhile left it not minding to keep any Garrison there.

Colonell Ashton[65] not meeting with the Earle (as was said) marched on to Lancaster and vewing the pitifull rewings thereof with the clamour of the people for it and their plunderings by the souldiers which moved him to greef and hearing besides how that the Earle had regained Preston made no long stay there comming into Blackburne Hundred on the East of Chippin and so by Whaley up into Salford Hundred. The Parliament Partie was much dejected by these disasters. Nevertheless the Colonell

within a short spaee after his return home calling up the Country about him to Rachdall made knowne vnto them his condition how he wanted money to supply his souldiers withall as allso for other which the Country people furnished him with all speed. And he had a further designe in his minde and prosecuted it, as shall be shewed.

Warrington the Earle did Garrison for the King,[66] strongly fortifying it with Gates Mounts and an Engine devised and placed upon the Bridge to stop the passage over it. And not long from the time that Wiggon was assaulted and taken, the Forces of Manchester were designed to march thither and make an Assault against it to try the strength thereof. And so marching thitherward upon the south side of the River Mersey they crossed it about Hollinfair Marching up to Warrington by the Church made a strong assault against it scalled some of the workes about it; but the Souldiers within defending it with Manhood and great valour they were at the last forced to leave off and returne home againe with the losse of some of their Souldiers.[67]

Warrington is garrisoned for the King.

Manchester men making an assault against Warrington are beaten off with losse.

The Earle of Darbies last undertaking (before hee forsooke the Countie and that wherein God appeared most against him) was his voyage into Blackburn Hundred to Whaley; no doubt to requit the Parliament Commanders in it with the like they did him; by getting some into the King's possession that soe he might vexe the rest if not gaine it all. Therefore not long after his regayning of Preston and Burning at Lancaster hee calls his Commanders and Souldiers to Preston again with his Club of the ffeild; and having them in a bodye with his afforesaid piece of Ordenance and Horse, the . . . . . .[68] or thereabout sets forward and marches by Ribchester from thence over Ribble at Salesbury Boat and by Salesbury Hall and soe was well neare gotten to Whaley before he was discovered; his Clubmen according to their practice plundering in most of the townes they passed by or thorrow. News of his approaching being brought to Padiam and Galthrop to Colonell Shutleworth in the night tyme that Hundred being then in a weak condition to resist him, the souldiers at that tyme in no parte of

it in any bodie or companies but dispersed and also wanting Ammunition and Pouder. Neverthelesse the ould Colonell sent intelligence into the Hundred before morning of the Earle's approach summoning all to come vp to him in the morning with speed with their best weapons. Betymes in the morning the Earle's Armie were all drawne vp and over that River that runs by Whaley called Calder and there they with the piece of Ordenance were set in a bodie as to receive an Enimie. The Earle with other of his Commanders where [*sic*] vp to the Abbey Sir Ralph Ashton's House whilst Mr. Tildsley with others scoutted vp towards Padiam yea as far as Reed-head. Now the Colonells, Shutleworth and Starkie being both come to Padiam with some of the Captaines were in a great perplexitie know[ing] not what to doe being (as was said) vnprovyded. Yet some Captaines were sent, some souldiers accompanying to scout towards Whaley as far as Read Mr Nowell's house to hear whether my Lord advanced or no and making a stand there, consulting amongst themselves what was likeliest to be done vpon the exigent. The Captaines were all of one mind as that it was not safe to withstand the Earle there. He was a strong partie and came on purpose provided and they weake their companies away scattered. Therefore the safest way was to retreat and preserve themselves out of their Enimies hand till their Companies could be gathered into a bodie with some aid and withall furnished with Ammunition which now they wanted, this being their Resolution at Preston.[69]

This pleased not the Souldiers then by, That they should turn their backs upon their enimies before they saw their faces. Therefore a many of Musketiers being resolut men replyed to the Captaines bouldly, bidding them take what course they pleased for their safeties yet they would aventure themselves, see the enemie and haue one bout with them if God will. And therefore gathering themselves together mad themselves readie to receive the enimie. And belyke eyther imagyning of themselves or having intelligence from others that the enemie would (pass) that way They planted themselves in fields on the high way sid betwixt

Whaley and Padiam under the Stone walls with their muskets, readie charged, being hid, to give the enemie a volley of shot if they appeared. Long they lay not before they espied some of the Earles Horse and Foot mounting out of a Hollow dingle betwixt Ashterley and Reed-head. And Maister Tildsley was one of the foremost and having gotten the tope of the Hill he enquired of a woman that dwelt in a little house by, where he was or how that place was calde. Sir said she you are at Read-head above the house of Mr Nowell of Read. I am the more sorrie said he; I would not haue his wyffe disquieted (Mr Nowell was a strong malignant). Not long after this Discourse the Musketiers under the walls waiting their opportunitie let goe a volley of shot against them very hotly which did put such a fear into them That immediately without any delay they turned againe and downe towards Whaley with all the speed they could make. And (as the report was) Mr Tildsley was soe terrified and amazed that forgetting his way for haste took into that lane that leads to Mr Shutleworths house at Ashterlee and then forced his horse to leape over a yate and passed down by Portfield to Whaley. The Musketiers perceiving them flee soe fearfully pursued them hotly and took divers Foot Clubmen. Presently upon the Report of the Muskets many came unto them and some caried the Prisoners to Padiam and the rest Joyned with the Musketiers to pursue the Enemie.

Amongst those that came in then to them was . . . . . Marsden then a Lieutenant after mad a Captaine, a man of courage and hardie spirit. He incoradged the souldiers much with manly words to goe one, God would fight for them, and the like. So they pursuing with great shouting and the nearer that they came to Whaley the shouting was more and greater the hills and valleys giving the ecchoys besids more comming and encreasing. Whalley standeth in a Vale having the hills on every side on which was much people standing and all shouted, putting Amazement into the Earles Armie. The Earle being in the Abbey and divers of his companie in the Church and Tower, vpon that great noyse made haste to get ther. The peice of ordenance was discharged

twise or thrise at the most towards the Tower; but with noe execution that was hard of. A boy that was upon a steele in the field was shot about his knees whether with a musket or the Ordenance was not certaine whereof hee died but not immediately. He was all that was slayne of the Parliament parte. Off the Earles Companie an emenent Captaine of much respect with him (yet a greate plunderer) his name was Conney[70] was shot in the one of his eyes whereof he died afterwards and was carried away with them.

The Earles Clubb men being in the Reare of his Army hearing the great noyse of shoutting, apprehending it fearfully fled through the River in much haste, he being most happie that could get through it with most speed and run the fastest away. Noe command of the offieers nor foree of the horsemen could make them turne again or staye, but gone they would be; which wrought soe upon the rest of the Armie that they lykewise turned their baeks and fledd soe disorderly and confusedly That (as relation was) the Earle himself had much adoe to cause them to take their Ordenance with them, he being of the last Companie that was with it.

Thus hauing turned their baekes of Whaley, the shouters inereasing, they pursued them with a greater noyse And dyvers horsemen comming in followed with more speed taking some Prisoners and fynding Armes of all sortes cast in the way, not leaving of till they eame so far as Salesbury Boat. The prisoners taken were most of them Clubmen of the ffeild, about fortie who weare kept at Padiam till they were released.

The Earle much dismayed and disconsolat with his disasters made no stay till he eame to M^r^ ffleetwoods house at Penerthom wher he lodged that night in a very sad pensive condition by reason of the dastardlines which appeared in his Army. What became of it afterward was not materiall but truth it was he never headed Army in Lancashire after till his last comming out of the Isle of Man when he was defeated near unto Wiggon not long before his Death. This defeate at Whaley was strange and admirable for to the Judgment of Reason he had strength and power sufficient (as

the Hundred of Blackburne then was) to have subdued it to the King, if not Salford Hundred to, for that Hundred, all but Manchester, was in a scatered condition. Colonell Ashton newly returned from Lancaster his Army soe dissipated and discontented through want of pay that he could not gather them into a bodie till the Country had supplyed him, which then was not done: Nay, if hee had not stayed his Armie at Whaley but marched them on readily to Padiam that morning all had beene his owne. Hee had driven the Colonells and Captaines all before him out of the Hundred. They were upon the point of flying as appeareth by the consultation of the Captaines about Read before related. But there is a Divine hand of Providence that orders and works in the harts and actions of men what he will, though litle thought of by them. And this God can and often doth worke and bringe about greate effects by small and weake meanes and therefore is He called the Lord of Hoasts, because Victorie in Battle is as He will, and therefore by men to be ascribed to Him. And soe ought this to be for it cannot be ascribed to any outward extrinseeall cause. Not such a small number of Desperate Souldiers (as reason may call them) that first gave the onset could make such an Army flee. God in this defeat made the voices of men more Instrumentall to effect it than their Shooting. He put feare and disheartening into the Earles Army through Shouting that they durst not abyde and the hand of God is to be taken notice of in it and feared. The taking of Jerico by the voice of Rams horns and the peoples shouting that the fall of the Walls was miraculous, God using weake and unlikely meanes to effect such a work, yet doth He more put forth his power in weakness as when he effects great things by weak Instruments that he may be admired and praised of his People. And this we may in Charitie well think of the Earle that he did by this and other God's dealings with him in his undertakings soe apprehend them as if therein God did fight against him; for it was not long before he leaft the Kingdom as wil be shewed hereafter.

Manchester forces take Wiggon and the spoyle of it and march away that night.

About this tyme, not long after nor farr off Ester this year Collonell Holland of Heaton w^th^ the forces of Manchester and some peeces of Ordenance made a voyage to Wiggon then a Garrison towne for the King and strongly guarded making a vehement assault upon it both by the Souldiers and the Ordenance which they placed upon the South East side thereof playing into it very fearsly. Long it was not before the souldiers entered it, took many Prisoners of qualitie with others within the Church.[71] Amongst whom was Colonell Chisnall.[72] The Souldiers were allowed to Plunder and carey away what they could. Great heapes of Woollen Cloath of the Drapers being laid in the Streetes But with breakeing downe some workes that were maid and set in the Streets to hinder the passage of Horses and what Spoile they caried They all marched away that night and lefte it to the Earle who was marching toward the Relieff thereof with what strength he had as far as Standish More where receiving Intelligence that the Towne was taken, with the Spoyle of it, and the Enimie returned and gone In great discontent he returned home to Lathom never after making any accompt of Wiggon.

The 1st of Aprill was Wiggon taken 1643.

That wonderfull and ever to be admired Providence of God in disappointing the Earle's designs at Whaley and sending him home and that without any power of man (as it were) being by one very fitly called "The Valley of Achor or England's Door of Hope," there not being a more evident Testimony of God's Imediate hand in any Victory by him given to the Parliament Forces than in this, or that gave a more signall Testimony of owning the Cause contended for by them though it hath been his owne good pleasure in a very plentifull measure to have discovered himself that way. This wonderful hand of God (no doubt) put courage and resolution into the spirit of the Commanders of the Parliament Forces within this County, to take the fair dore and occation now by God offered and set oppen to them, to make head and prosecute it, and march into the Earles quarter in hope of Good success.

For with all possible speed after this, before May, and this was

near the middest of Aprill 1643 Colonell Ashton with what forces Salford Hundred could spare, both Horse and Foot as likewise Blackburne and some volunteers of Amondernes who being exyled from their dwellings by the enimies putting themselves vnder the leading and command of Captaine Edward Robinson, being an Armie of Indifferent good strength Marched into Darbie Hundred through Holland, Billinge and soe to Preston. The forces of Darbie Hundred of the King part appeared then to be under the command of the Lord Molinex and Mr Thomas Tildsley; But did not stay or be secur of Colonell Ashton flying alwaies before him. Hee marched by Knowsley the Lords House not offering any the least evill towards it and soe on to Ormskirke some of his Scouts being taken about Ormskirke by some straglers of the Enimies Army. By that tyme that the Colonell was come to Ormskirke he had knowledge that the Lord Molinex and Tildsley with their forces were marched over Ribble Watter at Hesketh Bankes into the fyld, which was so, and were quartered in Kirkham parish.

Colonell Ashton's voyage into Darbie Hundred meeting with no opposition.

Marcheth to Knowsley and Lathom not offering any the least harm to either of them.

The Lord Molinex quarters were in Clifton and Mr Tildsleys in Kirkham and while they laid there the Earle of Darbie with a few horse passed by Clifton with litle or no speach of him and soe into the North to White Haven and taking Shipping there went into the Isle of Man leaving his Countess and Children at Lathom. Colonell Ashton from Ormskirke marched his Army to Preston the Lord Molinex and Mr. Tildsley staid in Kirkham parish a whole day and a night and kept their Randavow all the day about the Wind Mill at the East end thereof, waiting and hearing which way the Colonell would take. About one of the cloke in the afternoone Souldiers had orders to repaire to their severall quarters in the parish, and were entered upon them: But before fyve of the cloke after they had a strong Alarume and Inteligence that Colonell Ashton was marching towards them, whereupon they were all called vp to Kirkham before the day was wholy gone, And warning was given to the Towne of Kirkeham that all women [and] children should keepe themselves with[in] the houses for the enemie being comming upon them, they would receive them

The Earle of Darbie's first flight into the Isle of Man.

there. Whereas on the contrary about midnight they all leaft the towne marching directly over Wyre Watter towards Stalmine and Cockeram and through Wharmore towards Horneby.

Colonell Ashton at Preston had knowledge that the Lord Molinex and Tildsley with their forces were in Kirkham pish. His cariages were readie and as far as Spittom Mosse marching to Kirkham but contrary word was brought that the King's Armie were all fled Northward. Then the Cariages being turned that way Colonell Ashton set his course and folowed them by Lancaster to Horneby where before he came to the Towne they were Espyed upon a Hill. But their Courage would not let them stay but to make as much haste as possible they could away, he pursuing them as farr as Kirby Lansdall: Which being out of the County hee returned again by Lancaster and brought from thence those peeces of Ordenance that were in the Spanish Ship that the Earle of Darbie burned, as was related before. The Colonell himself went directly to Preston leaving the Ordenances and Souldiers to follow, who leaving the ordinary Road at Garstang marched by S^{t} Michael's and soe down into the ffyld country (whether by the Colonells direction or by their own motion) to Plunder because they thought all the ffyld country were their Enimies was not known. And they plundered with a witness as they passed. From M^{r} Parker of Bradkirk they took a great many of Cattell and out of his house all they found worth Cariage, leaving his house in a very sorry condition. In Kirkham they plundered from them that were Souldiers in their army and had been in that expedition with them so disrespectless were they and greedie, And all the way they passed to Clifton and from it they drove great store of Cattell. Att Preston falling at discord among themselves about dividing of them and about the Ordenances they caried which was a matter of sadness to their friends and wil be an Infamie to their Reputation in future generations when pretending conscience and good will of the Cause to be the motives of their taking vp of Armes did bring an odium upon themselves by their base covetousness violence and oppressions.

The Souldiers march the Ordinance through the Fylde that they may Plunder.

They Plunder persons of their own Company.

After Colonell Ashton left pursuing the Lord Molinex and Mr. Tildsley they went further northward as far as Broughton[73] and there (but how I know not) they got a cart load of Armes from yong Mr. Rigbie of Laton[74] and others. And afterwards they parted Companie and Maister Tildsley hearing that the Queene was arrived at Burlington Key out of Holland and to Go to the King in the South he with his Companie fell down into Yorkshire where meeting with her Majestie he went into the South. And the Lord Molinex staid in the North till he hard that Colonell Ashton was marched out of the way then he returned marching over the Greene at Wray in the Fylde and so over Ribble Watter at Warton and some of his troops being quartered about Rufford had Intelligence given them that Captaine Edwarde Robinson with some of his Troope were that night quartered about Chorley they immediately took Horse thither and tooke the Captaine with divers Souldiers horses and armes with a yong man that then accompanyed the Captaine. His name was Thomas Ryley. They brought them prisoners to Lathom House which was then begun to be a Garrison it not being long before they were delivered. The Lord Molinex durst not abide in the Countie but marching his Troopes over Liverpool Watter at Hales ford fled into Cheshire.

Lord Molinux and Tyldsley got arms from Mr. Rigbie.

The Queen coming out of Holland arriveth at Burlington Key, 1643.

Thus by this Expedition of Colonell Ashton the Countie was cleared of the Earle of Darbie, the Lord Molinex M^r^ Tildsley and all their forces soe that there was not anie enemie abroad in Armes in all the County. Only Lathom House, Sir John Girlington's Castle at Thurlum [land] and Warrington Towne were kept by such discontented persons who feared the stroak of Justice and minding not to leave the Country fled into those houlds proving a greate torture and losse to all about them. Thurlum Castle was cleared before the end of that Sommer But Lathom House stood it out long, enduring twoo strong and great sieges at the last yealded.[75]

One memorable exploit was acted by the forces of Colonell Ashton before they came from Hornby Castle, the Lord Morley's House. It was then possessed by a many of Caviliers who would

not yeald it up when they were sommoned upon presumption it could not be taken by any assault which it is like it could not, considering the situation of it upon a hill falling both waies and ryseth by degrees as the Castle stands along. It is lowest at the Gate House and ever longer the Castle goes the higher it riseth soe that it is impregnable any where but before the Gates, and that in probabilitie made them within feare no danger in any other part of it, neyther very watchfull. But some willy venturous souldiers of Colonell Ashtons, taking speciall notice of the Castle, espying upon the East part of it furthest from the Gate House very greate Glasse windows, such that, if possible they could get to them, they could enter. Thereupon provided such instruments to make tryall what they could doe eyther to take the house or losse their lives and watching their opportunity they entered the Castle by those windows.[76] What number they were that entered or how the assault in particular was carried, when they came in, or whether many or fewe were slain, I never hard. But the Castle was Delivered and in the Parliaments hands. When the Siege was against Thurlum Castle I was in those Roomes and saw the windows they came in at. It was a great adventure, the windows being very high from the ground.

Now the whole County being cleared of all the Kings forces way was made that all such as had fled out of any part thereof might return to their wives children and frends and have what their enimies had left them.

And before Midsommer M[r] Alexander Rigbie of Preston, lawier, a parliament man,[77] came down into the Country with Commission from the Parliament to be Colonell, to raise Forces, to put the Hundreds of Laylond and Amonderness into a posture of Warr which he was diligent to doe within a litle tyme. And Captaine Edward Robinson having raised a troope of Horse and under the command of ould Colonell Shutleworth (no doubt with both their wills) came under his command. And a Darbyshire gentleman called Maior Downes fled out of that shire the Caviliers prevailing there had Intertainment with him and kind respect.

And before July Colonell Rigbie began to show himselfe to be a Warrior for hee undertook the reducing of Sir John Girlington's Castle at Thurlum in which was Sir John, his wiffe and many disperat caviliers having strongly fortified it with provision out of the country as alsoe Ammunition. The Colonell for this undertaking had forees from Salford and Blackburne Hundreds having companies newly raised within Preston and some peeces of Ordenance. He about the beginning of August marched his Armie thither setting them downe about it. The maine bodie of his foote or his mayne guard was at the house of Mr Cansfield about half a mile from the Castle. It was moited about so that it could not be come to. He planted his Ordenance on the East side of the Castle in a very fair plot betwixt Cansfield and it. They plaied oft against it with litle execution. It was stronge. Out of it they shot desperately when they spyed occation. They killed many that aduentured to near it. Edward Breres a Captaine of the Volunteers of Preston was killed by adventuring to neare. The Colonell himselfe did lye at Hornby Castle and came every day to the leagers. The horse lay up and down in the Country. Captain Edward Robinson lay at a towne north from the Castle called Tunstall. Some allarums they had upon the night but of none effect; at the last they had a strong allarum, out of Cumberland for Colonell Hudleston of Millame Castle had raised forces and was mareching to raise the Siege.

But Colonell Rigbie hauing Inteligence of their Marching against him thought it not the saffest way to let them come vpon him; but rather to prevent them and meet them on their way, and to that end drew from the Leguer as many forees as could be spared of keeping the Castle in. And with the rest mareched to meet the Enimie as far as Daulton and there encountering with them God was pleased to give him the better soe that the Enimie fled. And in the pursuit Colonell Hudleston himself was taken with some others of qualitie and four or five Ensignes or cullers of brave silke were taken with some common Souldiers. Then the Colonell returned Victor to the Leaguer againe with his enimie his

Colonell Hudleston discomfited nere unto Dalton and taken Prisoner.

prisoner whom hee sent to London not long after his returne home. The besieged hearing of this Victory it so wrought vpon them that w^th^in a short spaee the Castle was yealded vp and Sir John Girlington and his ladye with their servants were to haue quiet passage to goe into Yorkeshire and what other conditions I have not hard. Sir John that Winter folowing being active amongst the Caviliers in Yorkeshire in a skirmish not far from East Bradford was shot in his foot which proved to be his death. Thus the Castle surrendered and things put into order Colonell Rigbie returned to Preston in Triumph.

Thurlam Castle delivered upon conditions

Thus he being much hartened and encoradged by this victory and delivery of the Castle That he laboured much to put the Countrie into a posture of Warr making choyse of such men to be Captaines under him as he did especiallye confide in. For the Hundred of Amonderness M^r^ Claton an Antient Gentleman dwelling about ffulwood More was made Captaine and the freeholders in the Hundred under his conduction M^r^ William Pateson of Ribbie having halfe of the parish of Kirkham to raise his company in. M^r^ Richard Wilding of Kirkham had the other halfe of the parish for raising his company. In Poulton and Bisbame parishes he made Captaines M^r^ Robert Jollie of Warbreek M^r^ William Hull of Bisbame M^r^ Richard Davis of Nuton and M^r^ Rowland Amon of Thornеton. These raised their Companies within these parishes. In Lythom pish M^r^ Georg Sharples was Captaine but the people of the pish would not raise with or follow him, but some few only, for which he had the Gear, Captain Bare upon the North of the Ryver Wyer. M^r^ Richard Smith and M^r^ Georg Carter of Hambleton were made Captaines to raise their Companies in Stalmin Hamblton and townes ajacent. In S^t^ Michels prish M^r^ William Swarbrick was Captaine and raised his Companie there. In Garstang prish M^r^ . . . . . ffaith (ffyfe) that dwelt at Wediker M^r^ Christopher White of Claughton M^r^ . . . . . Whithead of Garstang towne. These raised their Companies within Garstang parish. In Wood Plumpton M^r^ . . . . . Duddell eldest son of M^r^ Georg Duddell raised his companie there. In

What Captaines Colonell Rigbie maid within the Hundred of Amunderness.

Gosnarg Mr Alexander Rigbie the Colonell sonne was Lieutenant Colonell under his Father and raised a Companie within Goosnarg.[78] All these were Foot companies. Mr Thomas Wittingham of Wittingham was made Captaine of a Troop of Horse even raising them when Prince Rupert entered the County.

In Layland Hundred Mr Hugh Henley who was before the Colonell's man raised a Companie and Mr . . . . . Walton that dwelt about Hul [Hoole] Chapell, if I be not deceived.[79] What other or more Captaines he made in the Hundred is not certain to me. For the furnishing of these Companies with Armes Drumes and Cullers He assigned to every companie such a number of the Sequestered [e]states of Papists as would raise so much money as would furnish them compleatly so that they were neare well furnished by December 1643. And the most of them were called to Preston and there a whole week together exercised and trained having provision out of the townes where they were raised saving beefe, and to furnish them there with, the Commissaries brought of the sequestered Cattell of Papists who were there killed and dressed for them.[80]

Some Companies that Winter received Order that they should all be Horsed out of the severall Quarters by Inventorie and with them Attend the Colonells further Order and to be returned to the severall owners againe when the Designe was over, which was faithfully done by Captaine William Pateson and his Companie. Most if not all the Companies were called vpon receiving Order to march into Blackburne Hundred to Henley More to a Randavow, and after that they had Order to March two myles further to Colne to a Generall Randevouse betwixt both Hundreds in the most remote part of the County upon the borders of Yorkeshire to a place called Emmot Loane head, to be a terror to the Yorkeshire Caviliers who that Winter Ranged vp and downe.

A Guard kept at Blackston Edge by the force of this Shire for feare of the Earle of Newcastle

There was a stronge Guard kepte by the Lancashire forces at a paseage into both Counties at a place called Blakston Edge, for that Winter the Caviliers possest much of this side of Yorkshire, as Leeds Halifax Wakefield Bradford and other places all up to

Yorke, for the Earle of Newcastle hauing driven the Lord Fairfax from Tadcaster, and beaten our Lancashire Forces at Wiskett Hill, they had all that Country at Command, which feared our Lancashire Commanders least they should fall downe hither. Therefore (as much as was possible) to prevent them and to be a warning to us was that Guard kept all that Winter. Having provisions of Meale and Beeffe out of the severall Hundreds of the County of sequestered Papists goods. For this very yeare 1643 began the Ordenance of Sequestration to be put in practice upon the Estaits of Delinquents and Papists.[81] And the 23d of October was sequestered Mr Thomas Tildsleys Estait of Merskoe being the first that was Sequestered within Amonderness Hundred and the very liffe of all that Acted against the Parliament within it. Having an especiall Influence vpon them to stirre them vp and being soe judged of the Parliament they began with him.

Colonell More of Bank Hall come down from the Parliament.

The forces (thus raised this Winter as aforesaid) being well exercised Colonell Edward More of Bank Hall neere Liverpoole,[82] a member of the Parliament came downe into the County, and beinge Governour of Liverpoole towne, a considerable port or haven, for letting in of an Enimie which hee took care of and made some fortifications with gates and barres to kepe off planting some Ordenance for defens hee raised some Companies of Souldiers within Derby Hundred, but who were his Captaines I never hard in particular.

Divers Ships of the King part appeare in the Mouth of the River att Liverpoole for divers days together and never offer to come into the Harbor.

Not much before Christmas that yeare 1643 there came up into the mouth of that River at Liverpoole seaven or eight Shippes of Warr for the Kings part and lay there under Anchor for many dayes together with their Cullers displayed as if they could and would conquer all before them; but did not offer to put into the Harbour.[83] The country was put into greate feare by them, those partes especially; not knowing what might ensue considering that it was certainly trew that Colonell Tildsley with other his Complices Caviliers which the Spring before fled the County were gathered into Cheshire (the Citie of Chester being holden for the Kinge). And Tildsley and they kept a Guard about Berket Wood

over against Liverpoole[84] hauing Ordenance with them soe that they could and did shoot over the River into Liverpoole towne.

Now vpon the appearing of these Ships Colonell Rigbie at the first was much astonished thereat and therefore in the night time sent to Captaine William Pateson in the field to come up to him to counsell with (whome hee had speciall confidence in, and well might) and to give him order to come vp with his Souldiers to Preston to exercise and be in a readines if there were imminent cause. When it was dayly heard that the Ships aboad still in sight of Liverpoole The Colonell resolved to send what of his forces he could thither to strenthen the Governour and Towne and to let the Enimies see and know the resolution of the Parliaments Partie which was to resist them and beate them backe if so God would. But the Colonell would not compell or force any Captaine or Souldier to goe with him to Liverpoole; only made a motion that whoever would freely and willingly goe with him he would take it kindly at their hands, which many did. And amongst others Captaine William Pateson and some of his Souldiers went and marched thitherward upon Christmas Eve and soe to Wiggan where was the Randevous for all that went. And after Sermon marched towards Liverpoole some quartering at Preskot and the reste in the townes thereabouts and the next day came to Liverpoole. But the Ships all save one were gone to the Sea againe. That one came up into the Harbour yealding itselfe to the Parliament service. Thus was the great feare past without any hurte. Those that came in to their assistance, if need had beene, were quartered in the towne for five or sixe daies and then returned home againe. Besides these that went to Liverpoole there were other out of the Countie at the same tyme sent into Cheshire to assist Sir William Brereton against the Caviliers that then made head against him. But soe it was the Caviliers fell sodenly vpon his forces then at Northwich and put them to the foile,[85] so that Colonell Rigbie was as much if not more startled at this then the former as also the Country was much vexed with it Til after a while Sir Thomas Fairfax came out of Yorkeshire with some

Colonell Rigbie with some forces march to Liverpoole to strengthen the Governour.

Some forces out of Lancashire sent into Cheshire to aid Sr. William Brereton who then came to the worst at Northwich.

Troops to S^r^ William's assistance who beat of the Caviliers, clearing both Nantwich and Northwich of them, even to Chester Citie.[86]

The Countesse of Darbie received into Lathom very many Caviliers making it a strong Garrison and fetched in provision from the Country round about and the Souldiers did violence to the Parliaments frends fetching some from their houses in the night, keeping them prisoners, to get money of them for their Ransoms, till at the last the Colonells for the Parliament began to consider of it as an oppression and injustice to the People and therefore resolved to Belcague it and reduce it to quietnes by force if noe other waye it could be brought about. Colonell Rigbie was designed to it and to have the assistance of all the Parliament forces in the County as need was.

Honorable conditions offered to the Countess of Darbie before the Siege was laid against Lathom House, which she would not accept.

Yet before any League was laid they weare pleased to propound Honourable conditions to the Countesse which, if she refused them, they were the more excusable and she guilty of all the evill that befell her family or the House. The propositions were that she would be pleased to take that Guard of the House and let it be oppen, as it was, and put from her those persons she had entertained into it and deliver up the Armes and Ammunition she had she should be protected by them from all violence and wrong of their partie and peaceablie enjoy the Estait she had. But she remained obstinate and would not yeald but stood upon her Guard. The Colonell satisfied with her answer having his Ordenances, a Morter peece and his forces readie when he saw his most Convenient tyme having one M^r^ . . . . . Browne for his Engineer[87] about the . . . . . of March 1643 he began upon his busines. The first worke that his forces effected was the taking of the Stand in the Parke[88] which the Cavaliers was then possessed of. After that the Windmill was seazed on and then Maister Browne set forth the lyne that after was drawne by degrees round about the House being soe tented the Souldiers might lye under it without danger as also goe round about it vpon wary lookinge to themselves. The Companies that weare to keepe the Seige came out of their severall Hundreds by turnes.

When the League had been about one fortnight, companies out of the flyld country were called up, Captaine William Pateson with his companie being the first. He with his companie were seaven weekes compleat. All companies had their provisions brought them by those severall townes or places where they were raised as also their paye and were ordered every company to such and such houses as were able to receive them, some nearer the League and some further off. They weare vpon duty every third day and night. It was a very costly siege to the County. There was needlessly spent against it in shot and Powder an Infinite quantity. Some was alwaies shooting at nothing they could see but the walls. The Morter peece if it had beene applyed in shoting as it might have beene the House had beene yealded in a short while. It was but twise shot off with Granadoes which made a great Rusle in the House that they could not tell where to abyde safe Especiall when those Bullets made of free stone which wayed eight pound a piece they when shot forth would flee as high into the Aire that almost a man could not see them and then the falling was so ponderous that they brak downe all where they lighted. One of them brak downe a brave Cloek, it was not hard after by the Leaguer. The latter soe feared the Countesse that she could not tell ever after where to hyde herself; so that as it was after reported by some that knew if the Leaguer had continued to shoot it twise or thrise more she had yealded up the House. But wherefore it was not continued was not known to the Souldiers.

Bullets of Free Stone of 8 pound waight was shott out of the Morter Peece: ther was but two of them shot.

Thus this Morter peece being so fearfull and terrible to those in the House and the persons and Souldiers resolute and desperate that were within And having knowledge where and in what place of the Leaguer it was set they adventured one morning about the break of the day eyther to fetch it in to them or dye for it. Having a Horse and a Sled readie at the back of the Works a certain number came over and eareing got it to the Sled and soe into the House notwithstanding the force of the Guards that night, which was a great joy to them and all the Caviliers; being a

The souldiers within Lathom House fetch the Morter piece from the Leaguer one night.

Ordenances are placed against Lathom House and do good execution.

great discouragement to the Leaguers. After that was gone the Leaguers made use of their Ordenance (for a while) planting them vpon the North West of the House one against the Tower, playing vehementlie against it one whole day making a greate breach in it that might easily be discerned and that was left off againe. The Leaguer was not so watchfully kept but that they had Inteligence into the House what was done without and it was thought some within the House alwaies fetched it. The Mote about the House was so brode and Deep that it was a stronge Defence to it, for no Pardu[89] could come neare to heare any thing of them within. They gave many Allarums in the Night tyme to the Guards which was the occation that much powder and shot was wasted. They were very good marks men in the House for they killed many. They were so observant in marking the loop holes in the workes that when they saw any that they could see through those especially they watched and if at any tyme those were filled that they could not see thorough then they would be sure to shot at them. Thereby they killed many.

A designe to let off the Mote about the House to no purpose.

The Counsels of the Leaguer was such that if the Mote could be letten out the House would be taken more spedelie. Wherfore workmen were set on to draw a deep Seluse to let it off. It cost much money and labor and to noe purpose. Browne the Enginer was Judged to be not so faithfull as he ought. The Lyne was soe neare the House it was the death of many pore honest men. Colonell Rigbie himselfe lay constantly at Ormskirk yet came daylie to the Leaguer to consult with his Captaines and Officers. Their Counsell was held at my Lord Holand's House. The maine guard lay at New Parke a House belonging to the Earle of Darby. About twelve weekes the Leaguer lay there with litle or no effect but the losse of mens lives and spending of much treasure and vituals. About the 8th or 9th of May 1644 it was noysed abroad that Prince Rupert for the King was comming and vpon his March in Cheshire. Then began Colonell Rigbie to consider with his Counsell what was best to be done. They resolved to withdraw the Leaguer and march to some safe place for they

Colonel Rigbie withdraweth the Leaguer from Lathom House.

were not able to encounter with the former, therefore upon the 12th May he withdrew all away and marched them to Eccleston Greene.[90] His court of Guard was kept in Preston in the Toy, so called,[91] Mr Robert Blundell's House,[92] Rowland Gaskell, Marshall,[93] it having at that time above 50 Prisoners within it. The Captaines with their Companies that Guarded it then were Captaine William Pateson and Captaine William Swarbrecke who received Order, the 12 of May, being Sunday, from the Colonell twisse[94] to march to Eccleston Greene to him, and leave it, yet both tymes had backword to stay. The Colonell was in greate feare of his familie in Preston, giving them Order to pack vp his goods and flee vp into Yorkshire, which was done. For himselfe and his armie not wel knowing which way to take, but to Manchester his desire was, only Prince Rupert was in his way fearing to meet him. And whether by counsell or of his owne motion is uncertaine to Boulton he tooke the 13 of May and orders came to Preston from him that the Captaines, the Marshall and the Souldiers should march away to Lancaster and take the Prisoners with them to the Castle. The 14th, that same day that Prince Rupert took Boulton they marched towards Lancaster, quartering themselves, companies and prisoners that night at ye Lodge in Mierskoe Colonell Tildsleys House. And in the morning they were not gone above three myles from the House when a Troop of Horse from the Colonell[95] came thither who (no doubt) had folowed them (and Rescued the prisoners the malignitie of that Country was such) had not some of a Regiment belonging to Colonell George Dodding[96] that was marching to Manchester been Quartered that night in Garstang towne so they quietly conveyed them to Lancaster and there delivered them.

The Captaines and Marshall convey the Prisoners in the Toy towards Lancaster.

This Colonell Dodding was the same man that was taken at the Ship by the Earle of Darbie when he burnt it (as was said before) and caried away Prisoner. How long he was detained Prisoner, or how delivered, to me is uncertain but he returned not home till Winter following. And had commission to raise a Regiment in Lunsdalle Hundred and be Governour of Lancaster Castle. This

Colonell Dodding fortifieth Lancaster making the Portcullis of the Castle gates of Iron.

he did and caused workes to be made about Lancaster Towne for defence thereof. The porteulles of the Castle Gattes he made all of Iron whereas before they were of wood. Captaine W^m^ Pateson and Captaine Swarbreck had delivered the Prisoners. Hee willingly gave them quarter for as long as they stayed performing dutie every third night. They stayed there twenty daies or there about. And then Captaine Pateson with his companie marched downe the Trough of Bowland and soe into Blackburne Hundred to Clitherall, till Prince Rupert marched vp to Yorke. Then he marched toward Leeds careing some Prisoners thither out of Blackburn Hundred from Colonell Nicholas Shutleworth Captaine Swarbreck staying at Lancaster with Colonell Dodding, who with his Regiment (leaving part in the Castle to keep it) within twoo daies after Captaine Pateson went away marching thorow the dale countries of Yorkshire vp to the Leaguer at York and Captaine Swarbreck with him. They were in the Battle there where Colonell Dodding lost many of his Regiment.

Colonell Dodding did march his Regiment to the League at York upon Prince Ruperts return from Preston towards it.

Colonel Rigbie (as before was said) having quit Lathom Siege and marched vp to Boulton with his Army, had not been long there ere Prince Rupert was vpon him with a numerous Army: for marching through Cheshire by Stopford he leaft Manchester upon his right hand, passed over the River Mersey, not farr from the House of Sir Ceeile Trafford[97] bending his course directly to Boulton and when he came there fell upon it very fearsly. Colonell Rigbies Army resisted what they could, but the Workes about the Towne being decayed there hauing been noe Garrison kepte there of almost a Yeare, and the Armie few in comparison of their Enemies, most of them new raised men, litle acquainted with such Assaults yet some, sore engaged stood to it manfully, and lost their lyves, others seeing the danger fled away betymes. Aboundance were slayne, especially of Amonderness Hundred. As Captain . . . . . ffaith [Fyfe] of Wedicar, Captaine . . . . . Duddell of Wood Plumpton and Captaine Richard Davie of Nuton in Poulton Parish and most of their Companies. Captaine William Dandie of Tarleton with his Son, Lieutenant to Maior Edward Robinson were both

Captaines of the Hundred of Amunderness slain at Boulton.

slaine with others more. They took at the least 200 prisoners after they gave quarter. Amongst whom was Captaine Budles[98] who before tyme had been a Servant to the Earle of Darby at Lathom House, afterwards made Captaine of a Companie and called to the Leaguer against it. He, a prisoner, hearing that the Earle was in the Towne, was desirous to be brought before him hoping (belike) to have found favour with him. The Earle instead of favour drew upon him and run him through with his Sword, twoo men having the Prisoner by eyther Arme, a cruell and a butcherly act, not becoming a noble spiritt, but it was paid hime into his bosom, as will hereafter be shewed.

Captain Budles slaine bythe Earle of Darbie two men holding him.

There was also taken Captaine Georg Sharples of Lythom and was caried through the streets almost Naked and bare footed in the mire and dirt to Mr Cuthbert Clifton, eldest Son to Mr Thomas Clifton of Lythom, Landlord to the said Captaine, who when he came before him and other like himselfe, they caused him to stand in the dirt to his knees Jearing upon him and put a Psalter into his hands that he might sing them a Psalme to make them sporte. And when their humour was satisfied that way sent him by a Souldier to the Church where the Prisoners were. The Souldier brought him into an house where an Irishman, a Souldier and his wife quartered that night, and on the morrow there being a Randevous of the Army upon the More without the towne, they put a paire of clogs upon his feet and a Musket upon his shoulders and so, like a pore souldier, he going to the More, when he saw his best opportunity escaped their cruell hands.

Captain Georg Sharples of Lythom disgracefully used.

Colonell Rigbie being in the towne yet escaped, though narrowly, for being upon his horse back, he thrust himselfe among the Enemie and at the last larned what was their word, and having that, as the enemies horse entered the towne he hastily put spurs to his horse, and springs up before them like a resolute Commander, calls them vp, saying, "March on, the Towne is our owne" and soe riding and bestirring himself amongst them, there was no notice taken on him, but when he saw a fit time for him he tooke it, and with one man went his way towards Yorkshire. They

Colonell Rigbie in Boulton when it was taken, yet escapeth narrowly.

slew most of the Townsmen that they found in it. The Souldiers were greedy of plunder, being many of them very bare, they caried away aboundance of Cloath of all sortes.

Some Fyldish Captaines plundered hard at Boulton.

Thus farr was Prince Rupert victorious by the taking and his Souldiers enriched by the Plunder and Spoile of this Towne yea some of the Souldiers of the fyld Country who had been abroad from home much of a Year brought Cloath from them to their wives and families which served them many yeares after. When they had gotten what they desired within a few days they deserted and wholy leaft the Towne marching toward Liverpole to Reduce it. The prisoners were caried along with them being tyed twoo and twoo together and forced over Liverpoole Watter at Hales ford[99] when it was too deep, almost for horses to goe. They must wade over either in their Cloathes or putting them off carry them upon their neckes (it was supposed they intended to drown them.) And this was remarkable. There was an ould man, a Prisoner, conceiting their intention to be so hard harted and cruell towardes them encouradged his fealowes, exhorting them to be of good chere, and feare not, though they thinke to drowne us — yet they must not, God is stronger than the Devill. Now the Prisoners had speciall eare one of another, keeping close together to support one another if any were weak and in danger in the Watter, so that through God's power they all got through with less danger than the Horsemen. After they were dispersed to several places. Some remained at Chester and some were caried to Shrewsbury and other places.

A hartie and faithfull saying of an old man at Halle foard.

The Prince marches from Boulton to Liverpoole.

The Princes Army went directly to Liverpoole and made assault against it. And Colonell More with what force he had with him in the towne, resisted while he could, but when he saw it was in vaine long to withstand such a potent Army he betook himself to the Sea and left the Towne to the mercilesse mercy of their enimies who murthered unhumanly and plundered thevishly. And when it was so in their possession as they feared no more resistance Colonell Cuthbert Clifton was designed to be the Guard thereof with his new raised Regiment of Souldiers in the Fyld Country.

And it was well known that some of them were good Plunderers bringing from Liverpoole many a great *lougish* [luggage]. The Colonell for provision for his souldiers as alsoe for their lying made a prey of his own country, for he caused many pore mans stocke of sheep to be taken out of that Common belonging to Laton called the Hoos[100] and also out of many mans house within Kirkham Poulton and Bisbam prishes their best bedding to be taken and carried thither. Such wise counsell hee had and such a kind respect he bore his Country. The Government of the Towne was not in him but in Sir John Biron. Halfe of the County at this time was under their power viz. Darbie Laylond and Amondernes Hundreds from the taking of Boulton May 14th till the 20th of August that Sir John Meldrum for the Parliament drew them forth againe — as will be shewed hereafter.

Colonell Cuthbert Clifton plundered Laton Hoos of the Sheep to furnish his Garrison att Liverpoole and robbed *my* pore people his neighbours of their bedding.

Prince Rupert's maine Designe was to raise the Siege at Yorke for which end in all places where he came Increast his Army and so in this County; taking with him whatever might be honorable or advantagious to his Designe. Hee took from Lathom House the Mortar peece that they took from the Leaguer and carried it to York. Whilst he aboad in the County the Royall party were exceeding industrious to strengthen themselves so as that they might hold it out when he was gone. And therefore they laid Garrisons in Greenoe and Clitherall Castles. Clitherall Castle was committed to the trust of Captaine Cuthbert Bradkirk of Wray[101] a man of small account and of no good cariag. He caused it to be repaired about the Gate House where it was ruined. He fetched out of the Country about great store of good provisions of all kinds — Meall, Mault, Beeff, Bacon, Butter, Cheese and such like. He kept it (much to the prejudice of the country) till the Prince had lost the Battell at Yorke. And when that was knowne to him no enemie comming to oppose nor anie visible thing appearing against him, but out of the feare and guilt of his owne mind vpon a sudden he caused the Draw Well within to be filled with some of the provision he had plundered from the country and without taking any leave he and his company did run away and left it. But the Garrison at Greenoe Castle stood it out long — as you shall hear.

Prince Ruperts Designe was to raise the Siege at Yorke.

Captaine Cuthbert Bradkirk Governour of Clitherall Castle upon hearing that Prince Rupert lost at York took his leave but sodenly over runs it.

Colonell Goring came to the Prince with his forces to Preston.

The Prince departed not out of this County before Colonell Georg Goring[102] came to him with his forces which he had at Preston, where they had a great Randavous upon the Marsh. Yet the Prince was not well pleased with the Maior and Offieers thereof for they made him a Sumptious Banquet but he refused it saying, "Banquets were not fit for Souldiers." And in requitall of their

The Prince requiteth the Maior of Preston for his Banquet. He caried them with him to Skipton and left them there Prisoners.

curtesie he caried the Maior and Bailiffs Prisoners with him to Skipton Castle and there left them. His Army was at its greatness when he went from Preston. It increased not in his mareh to Yorke, for what forces Westmoreland and Cumberland afforded him came to him at Preston. His Army was judged to be 40,000 strong and a great aboundance of Cariages he had. Not long before Midsummer it was before he marched into Yorkshire through Craven and soe vp by Knesbrough to the North West syd of York — about twoo myles from it.

A Regiment of Scots sent from the Leaguer at York to Manchester.

Whilst the Prince aboad in Lancashire there was sent from the Leaguer at York a Regiment of Foot Souldiers Scotes, down to Manchester to strenthen it for feare of the Prince; but there was no need of them for his Intention was not that way. That Regiment aboad at Manchester till the Battell was past at York which was upon the 22nd of July and then it Returned to the League againe. The Prince defeated in the Battle tooke up to Yorke and there staid one night and on the morrow he with what forces he had leaft fled through Richmondshire and downe the Dales Country into Lancashire about Hornebie and soe to Liverpoole Watter through Hailes ford or the Ferry and to Chester he went. Thus was this County cleared of him; but all Goring's Forces and many others stayed in the North and folowed not until about a month after. And Tildsley with the forces of this County and all that escaped at York, having lost all their Ammunition in the Battell, and not knowing how to come by more Removed from place to place within the Hundreds of Darby and Amounderness till such tyme as they hard that Sir John Meldrum with an Army was coming against them: ffor about the 10th of Augt being desigued to cleare this County and furnished with forces of Salford and

Colonell Tildsley & what forces essayed the Battell at York having no ammunition fled from one place to another.

Sir John Meldrum with an Army was desired to clear the Country if possible.

Blackburne Hundreds with the remainders of Amondernes and a Regiment of the Yorkshire Horse he set forward into Darby Hundred to seek them; but they fled over Ribble Watter into the Fylde, out of which vpon a false Alarum they had fled not above five days before.

He marcheth from Manchester into the Hundred of Darby.

About that time while Sir John Meldrum was marching in Darby Hundred some scatterings of the Enemie aboad in or about Preston. And other some coasting abroad as if they intended Southwards. Now Colonell Nicholas Shutleworth lying at Blackburne with his Troop upon the 15th of August he with a part of his Troop and some Countrymen being desirous to go to Preston if possible (it being the Fair there) when they came to the Coppe at Walton they meeting with some of the King's part scirmished with them and put them to the flight. And in the pursuit they took a Scottish Lord called Ogles[103] and with him one of the Hudlestones[104] of Millam Castle. And after that they met with more of that Companie about Ribble Bridge Hill and there had a sore disput with them killing one of them at the Bridge End a brave, portly man; what his name was they could not learne, for they were so hard put to, that it was with great difficulty that they came off with honour and safetie — yet did, and brought some butties and their Prisoners to Blackburne that night, and went not to Preston.

Colonell Nicholas Shutleworth his skirmish with those of the Kings party he met with at Ribble Bridge the 15 of August 1644.

At this tyme litle was known at Blackburn of Sir John Meldrum's March and yet the 16th day of August about ten or Elevaen of the Clock at night he entred Preston the Enemie flying from the towne downe into the Fylde: for being far in Darbie Hundred and hearing that those Enemies that were there fled into the Fyld over Ribble Watter he marched fast that day although it was a sore wet day He quartered his Army in Preston about Saturnday and Sunday. Vpon Saturday late at night came vp to him a Regiment carying all Black Cullers that came out of Cheshire[105]: Also Colonell Dodding in his returne from York Battell quartering some while in Blackburne Hundred recruiting his Forces and furnishing them with Cullers and other necessaries;

Sir John Meldrom hearing that the Forces with Colonell Tildsley and other in Darby Hundred were fled into the Fylde he bends his course towards them by Preston.

And being at Preston a Regiment of Black Cullers out of Cheshire and the recruit of Colonel Doddings Regiment came up with him there

hearing that Sir John was come up to Preston came up to him with his Regiment that night.

Colonell Goring's forces falleth into the Fyld country to Colonell Tildsley.

To that Armie in the Fyld that fled thither out of Darbie Hundred to avoid Sir John Meldrum (as was said) that Saturday Sir John aboad at Preston came Colonell Goring's Force from Northward into the Fyld Country, also being a strong number, for (as report was of such as saw them) before the last Companies were marched over that Bridge at St. Michael's Church, the first Companie was judged to be at Kirkham.[106] They filled the Parishes of Kirkham, Poulton, and Lythome, that night, quartering at some House 20, som 40, some 50, and at some 60 men, most of them Horsemen. Sunday folowing they ranged, some of them three or four myles from their quarters, to pilfer and plunder without respect to any persons, as well from their friends as Enimies, yea some in the Country when they came in said they were their frend, that when they went out cursed them, (blessing the Roundhead in respect of them,) for they took away all they could, leaving not any Horses they could meet withall. Besides, they forced the Country to thrash and winnow their corn, it being Sunday, for their Horses, yea Winnowing in the oppen fields or lanes, without any Clothes,[107] so disrespective were they of Corne. And wherever they saw any fat Cattell in any man's Closes or Sheepe, they fetched them to their quarters and killed them. They left not many pullen in any place where they saw them, as alsoe young geese. Thus they spoyled the Country that night and day, and had harmed it much more, if they had staid one other night. But God so ordered (for the ease of the country, do doubt) that about sunset or before, that Sunday, they had a false allarum that Sir John Meldrum was upon them. May be God ordered that they should soe apprehend it from his Scoutes: upon this allarum The Trumpets noe sooner sounded in any place where they were quartered, but it bred terror and fear in them, soe that in all haste, "to Horse, to Horse," leaving their meat, if they were at supper. The place of their Randavous was ffreckleton Marsh, whither they posted from all quarters, insomuch that by the time the day was

Many in the Country judged them their friends when they came that found them enemies when they went away.

A false Allarum feareth the Enemies from their quarters on Sunday night.

gone their quarters were cleared of them. They caried from their Quarters Drink in Barrels, bread, flesh, roasted and sodd, or what other provisions they had. Glad was the Country soe to be free of them, though most were glad at their comming. They caried along with them many Strumpets, whom they termed "Leaguer Ladies." These they made use of in places where they lay, in a very uncivill and unbecoming way, who outwardly appeared otherwaies disposed.

They carry from their quarters all the provision that was ready.

The men of the best rank amongst them, as the Lord Molines,[108] Sir Marmaduke Langden,[109] Sir Thomas Tildesley,[110] and many others of the like quality, whose names the country knew not, lay that night about the house of Richard Harrison, having their provision brought to them from Mr Westbie's House of Moulbreek. They brought with them out of the North and other places, divers droves of Cattle which they caried along, yet some they lost in the Country. They lay upon that Marsh and in the towne till after one of the clocke, the other day, for the Flood was soe there was noe passage over Ribble till that tyme.

The great men have their meat brought after them from Moulbreck.

Sir John Meldrum had given order that all his Horse should Randavous upon Monday morning, by such an hour, upon a More[111] not far from Penerthom, there to receive further Order. The severall Regiments of Foot and Cariages within Preston, were making ready for a march that morning; but before all were readie, and order given to march, it was neare twealve of the clock. "Toward the Fyld Country; to the Enemie;" was the Order. Yet the Cariages and Artillery could not passe at the Stakes, it was so soft with Quickmires, that they were forced to goe through the Greaves towne, and that made them march slow. Sir John Meldrum taking to him some that could direct him the way, Rode himselfe at the head of the Armie. When they were come as far as the Lea Hall,[112] the Enemie was discovered to be marching over Ribble Watter when it was very deep. It was thought if Sir John's Army had been one hour sooner they would most of them have beene drowned to avoid fighting upon sight of them marching away. For more expedition command was given

Sir John Meldrum marcheth towards the Enemy upon Frecklet in Marsh.

The Enemie flyeth, taking Ribble Watter, very deepe, to avoid Sir John's Armes.

that Horsemen should take behind them Musketier who rid up speedily to Proud Bridge in ffreckleton where some remained. And comming up with[-in] musket shot of them killed one or two, and the rest fled; but it being Marsh ground and many pooles and hooles nor very passable for strangers there was not pursuit of them so that al got over safelie and marched vp to the Mealles, for Colonell Ashton with some Companies lay about Hesketh Banke which was a Hindrans to their marching that way.

The Enemie thus gone out of the reach of his Armes Sir John Meldrum took Counsell to march his Army to Preston that night and so the Fyld Country was quiet of both Armies which then was a great blessing. For if Sir John had quartered his Army there that night the provision eaten up with the other, the Souldiers would have Judged the whole country enemies and without doubt have spoyled it. That night at Preston Sir John gave Order to Colonell Dodding[113] to march his Regiment home and to provide himselfe to beleaguer Grenall Castle then possessed by the Caviliers, with all that was under the leading of Maior Joseph Rigbie.[114] And in the morning betymes he with his Armes marched with what possible speed to Ormeskirk and was there before the enemie was aware of him and fell upon them soe fearsly that they fled in a most confused manner towards Liverpoole and Hailles ford[115] and soe quitting the Countie into Cheshire and into Walles. Many were slayne in the Rhublshawe many taken prisoners and many leaft their horses and fled into the feildes therabouts to hide themselves, and night comming on they escaped.

Colonell Dodding ordered to beleaguer Grenoe Castle.

Sir John Meldrum overtakes the forces that escaped him at Rible Watter near unto Ormskirk and there doth some execution upon them.

Within the compass of 14 days many Westmoreland and Cumberland men comming out of their own countries, with the King's forces, and seeing no hopes of any good to them by continuing among them, rather put themselves upon the mercy of their own country, and steale back again in smale and great companies; which the Fyld country men perceiving they guarded Ribble Watter always both night and day when the tyde was forth and some got good prizes by it. A great companie of these Northern men being so many that they escaped at Ribble marching northward

Northern men return back and many of them aken.

betweene Plumpton in the Fyld and Nuton met Captaine William Pateson and one with [him] comming home from Grenoe Siege. He that was with the Captaine being young got into the fieldes and escaped leaving his horse to them. The Captaine they took prisoner; took his horse from him; set him on another horse, and a man behind him to be his guard, carying him along with them through Coccoram, and as far as into Wiersdale. Night comming on, the man that was the Captaine's keeper, being weary of their company, made a motion to the Captaine of stealing from them, and going with him to the Leaguer before Greenall Castle. It being dark they got into a house, and staying there till the rest was ridden far away, they both returned back, and went to the Leaguer. So God's Providence was his deliverer.

Captaine William Paterson is taken Prisoner by a company of Northern men.

Captain Paterson's Keeper comes with him to Grenall Siege.

Thus it pleased God of his goodness to give freedom to the County of all Forces of the King's part save that within the Garrison of Liverpoole, Lathom House and Greenall Castle. For the Earle of Darbie, his Countess and their Children were all gone into the Isle of Man when they hard that Prince Rupert was defeated at York Leaving Lathom House to the Government of Captaine Rosthorne who kept it whilst a second Siege was against it which was not till the latter end of the year 1645 as will be showed below.

The Earl of Darby Countesse and Children goe into the Isle of Man.

And now when all enimies that made head abroad were dispersed Sir John Meldrum's desire was to reduce the towne of Liverpool to the Parliament againe. He therefore laid down his Armie about it to keep them in showing himselfe very charitable and bountiful to such pore men of the Parliament's part as were prisoners within it by exchanging some and buying others out with money: but stayed not long there but was called to a great exploit that was down in Walles at Mungomery Castle. Notwithstanding the Siege lay still against Liverpoole under whose command I cannot tell. But about Michaelmas God soe ordered the business and such a stratageme fell out that the like hath not beene often hard. The souldiers within took distaste att their Officers and commanders soe farr that they agreed with the Besiegers upon

Sir John Meldrum layeth Siege against Liverpoole

Liverpool Garrison delivers both the town and their Commanders to the besiegers.

some conditions not only to deliver them the towne armes, and ammunitions, but also their commanders and officers, prisoners. And they performed it. They were caried to Manchester and there kept. Some of them died within a litle time after as Colonell Cuthbert Clifton of Lytham and Captaine Richard Butler of Raeliffe with others. A Providence of God, more than ordinary, for which Roundheads made bonfyres for joy, and song praises to God.

Siege laid against Grenall Castle.

Colonell Dodding with his Regiment with Maior Joseph Rigbies companies laid close Siege to Grenall Castle keeping their maine Guard at Garstang towne, Into which were gotten manie desperat Papists. Their Governour was one Mr Anderton.[116] They vexed the country thereabouts extreamly, fetching in in the night time many honest men from their houses, making a commoditie of it. They sallied out oft upon the Leaguiers and killed some. They stood it out stoutly all that winter. The country was put to extraordinary charges in maintayning the Northern men who made a prey without pittie, such aboundance of Provision they weekly destroyed.

Mr. Anderton's death and the Castle is delivered up.

The Leaguers had thought to have undermined the Castle and blown it up with Gunpowder and great cost was spent about it to pioners but to no effect. The ground was so sandy it would not stand. At last this Anderton died and then those within being thereby discoradged they were glad to come to a composition to deliver it vp upon conditions — which were that they might go to their own houses and be safe. It was ordered that the Castle should be demolished and made untenable and all the Timber taken out of it and sold, which was done. And soe it lyes ruinated. It belonged to the Earle of Darby. It was very stronge and builded so that it was thot Impregnable with any Ordenance whatsoever, having but one dore into it and the walls of an exceeding thickness and very well secured together. Thus was Amunderness hundred freed of visible Enimies.

Captaine Rosthorne being left Governour by the Earle of Darby (as was said before) of Lathom House Intertained many disperat

Caviliers into it, fetching in provision out of the Country of every side especially from Roundheads for there being no Guard upon them for all that Winter 1644 they ranged abroad into the Country in the night time taking many men prisoners and keeping them in durance till they would buy them selves forth with much money. For which purpose they kept a party of Horse within Lathom House and did oft ryd ten or twelve myles in the night tyme and come again ere it were day. It was a great terror to many people of that sid of Ribble Watter forcing them to ly out of their own houses vpon the night tyme for feare of them. And such was the audacitie of some of them adventuring to come on foot over Ribble watter in the night tyme into the Fyld as far as Westby Hall[117] and there was kept secret a whole day, and at night endeavoured (but that they were reskowsed) to have taken Maior Robinson's horse out of the Stable there.[118] But the Maior hearing that some out of Lathom was gone into the feild was fearful of his horses and therefore sent a man in haste to Kirkham to raise aide if need were to prevent them; yet before any came from Kirkham the Caviliers had by some friendshipp they hadd in Mrs Stanley's house[119] gotten the keyes of the Stable dores but before they were entered John Woods with others out of Kirkham with some women who had their Aparons full of stones prevented them taking of the Horses in the nicke of tyme. John Woods going into Mistress Stanley's kicking one of the Caviliers discharging a Pistoll at him yet missing, John, with his Sword flying at them cut one that he went bleeding away, flying through mistris Stanley's gardinge and into the Orchard, and the night being dark they all escaped up to Plumpton and straight to Treales before they made any aboad. There they lay close the other day till night and in their going to Penerthome, to go that way to Lathome betwixt Treales and Clifton meeting James Clitherall of Eccleston they forced him away with them to Lathom and there kept him prisoner till his wife had payed fiftie pounds for his release, soe disperat cievell were they.

Lathomiers fetch in Prisoners to get money.

They go from Lathom in the night into the Fyld to fetch Maior Robinson's horses.

Are prevented by John Woods and others out of Kirkham.

The Colonell for the Parliament considering these outragious dealings of the Garrison in Lathom House with the Country

agreed that a second siege should be laid against the House to reduce it, if God would, or at least wise to stay their Robbing. And Colonell Egerton was the man agreed upon to be Governeur of it. He was to have forces for it out of all the County. The Siege was not laid so close to the House as at the first, nor did the Leaguer lie in Trenches: But a great Dich was draune round the House a good distance from it which was much Troublesome to passe over and the Leaguer lay a good distance from it, as convenient as possible and the whole County bore their Charge. Some bickerings and skirmiges they had with them once about Gilliburne's House.[120] They held it out all Sommer and much of Winter. About August Mr John Sharples, Controller under the Earle in the Island comming over out of it, He, with Mr Paule,[121] one of the Earle's Gentlemen were by the Parliament's Commanders apprehended and kept in restraint for a tyme. It being bruited abroad that they should be sent up to the Parliament; but it was otherwyse considered, Mr Sharples being sent into the House, not only to let them know what was his Lord's pleasure about yealding it but alsoe to mediate with them in behalf of the Commanders about delivery. All was vain. Resolute they were. Yeald they would not. Mr Sharples thereupon was permitted quietly to returne to the Island.

Towards Christmas their provision waxing low and scant and how to come by more was not so easy to them as formerly, therefore was their couradg somewhat abaited and qualified as to admit of a parley with the Colonells. A place was appointed where they met yet could they not agree. They bore it out with much seeming Audacitie — that they would stand it out even to Death unlesse they might have such Conditions as they proposed.

The Lathomers admit of a parly & very stout in it as if they would hold out ever.

Thus the parley brake off and they returned into the House againe. When they were gone Colonell Alexander Rigbie said to the rest of the Colonells and Commanders then present that he was persuaded that notwithstanding their seeming stoutness and highnes of stomacke they could not hold out long the smell and taste of their garments bewraied it. This proved true by the

Colonell Rigbies conceit of them notwithstanding their stoutness.

event for within the spaee of three weekes or thereabouts they yealded up the House. What their eonditions were as was thought, suffered them to go quietly to their owne homes and enioie their estaites without sequestration. The House with all the goods within it was to goe amongst the Souldiers, who pulled the lead off all the Turret, with all those leaden troughes, like vnto eisterens, which they salted Beeffe in were all pulled asunder and sould. And this was remarkable, that Wiggon men, great Caviliers, much in the favour of the Earle a towne which he had great confidence in above any other in the county — these very men were most forward to buy the Leades, and to deface that Honourable House more than any others. It appeared the tyde was turned. Much of that famous House (like a litle Towne in itselfe) was pulled downe and cast into the Mote that is about it, so that it is nothing in comparison of what it was. It was the gloric of the County. The Earles, Lords thereof, were esteemed by most about them with litle lesse respeet than Kings. It was the wilfulness and headinesse of the Countesse that brought this downefall vpon it. When it will be repaired again is doubtfull.

Wiggon men more forward to buy the Lead of Lathom House than any others.

Now the whole County was returned to the obedience of the Parliament, noe visible enimie appearing against it. The Earle of Darby in the Isle of Man Colonell Tildsley in the South at Lichfield — those being the ehiefe and those whom all others were led by. Some malignant enough were fled where they could get to be safe. Others that had been abroad were come home againe and glad to live quietly though in a meaner condition. Soe that the County was in a reasonable quiet posture for a long space eorne and all things plenty and cheap. But there was one thing that was troublesome in it, which was a rude company of Yorkshire Troopers who were ordered to Guard Lancaster Castle. They were the eruellest persons that ever this County was pestered with. They were an unmeasurable torment to the Hundreds of Lansdaile and Amonderness — men that could not be pleased with any quarters either for themselves or their horses and for their own advantage would quarter themselves (as farr from the Castle) at

Yorkshire Troopers that guarded the Castle a great torment to the Hundreds of Lansdaile and Amondernesse.

the bottom of the Fylde country. And if they had continued would have wrought a mighty discontent within it by their cruell cariag towards it. Which when considered and seriously thought vpon by some honest emminent men in the County who taking notice of the inconvenience and losses it would be dayly put vnto, if the Castle should continue long to be guarded by such rude men, therefore thought that if it could be obtained of the Parliament that the Castle might be so farr demolished as that it would not be tenable for a Garrison to shelter in though it might retaine the Prisoners for the County proposed to the Parliament the same, who gave way that all the Walls about it should be throwen downe, only the Gate Houses, the buildings upon the West and South sides, with the Towers, retained; that soe the country might be eased of that burden of unruly Troopers. Then workmen were set on who threw downe all the Walls of the Quadrangle, and so the Guard was gone, being taken off.

Lancaster Castle demolished that it may not be tenable to shelter a Garrison.

Thus being in quietness a good space, unexpectedly, upon a sudden, there appeared a Storm. Great Rumours and Newes of an Army out of Scotland, by the conduction of Duke Hamilton, under pretence to set the King free from his Imprisoument at Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight. This Rumour or the first Allarum of his coming by Carlisle, and so through this County was bruited in May 1648, many men therefore flying from their houses then to avoid him who yet returned shortly again following their occations at home most of the Sommer. For though he was designed to come yet he came not nor appeared in this County till August. Some of his Army was in the North about Appleby and those parts a good space. And Colonell Lambert with the forces of Yorkshire and Lancashire for the Parliament had some little bout with them, but being not able to withstand them, being too numerous for them they retreated doune into Yorkshire, there expecting and looking for Generall Cromwell with his Forces to come in to them to make head to resist the Duke.

a Rumour of Duke Hamilton's comming was in May, whereas he came not before August.

His first approach into the County.

About the latter end of July the Duke's Army was moving towards this county and by the beginning of August was entered

it and marching through Lancaster the Duke himselfe lodged at Ashton Hall one night and with the Van, his Artillery and three Cariages came to Preston on the 14th and 15th of August.

Generall Cromwell being come up with his Forces into Yorkshire to Colonell Lambert was at Knaresborough the 11th of August and set from thence marching very sore every day. On the 14th day they came at night to Mr Sherburne's house called Stonyhurst about Hodder Watter where the Generall lodged that night and his Army encamped within the Park. Had a Counsell of Warr that night in wch it was concluded to fight the Duke if he aboad. They followed in the reare of Sir Marmaduke Langden's Army who came out of the North by Setle towne and so into Blackburne Hundred and through Ribchester and downward to Preston. But some of them staying about the upper syd of ffulwood More and Ribbleton, lodged there that night.

Generall Cromwell with forces in Yorkshire marcheth hard to meet him.

Generall Cromwell made no stay, but in the morning marched on towards Preston after them and when he was come as far as Ribbleton Mill there he found them. He set upon them very fearsly beating them up all along the way to Preston (being three miles.) Many were killed, some being trodden into the dirt in the Lanes with the horses feet, the wayes were soe deep. Abundance were killed in the feildes on the East syd of Preston and so did drive them doune towards Ribble Bridge. The Duke with his forces and cariages being passed over before having Barocaded up the bridge stood at resistance. It was reported that when word came to the Duke that Generall Cromwell was in the reare of Sir Marmaduke Langden's Army fighting and killing them, his answer was — "Let them alone — the English dogs are but killing one another." So little care had he of them.

Cromwell's Armie beat Sir Marmaduke Langden's Armie al along from Ribbleton Mill to Preston and kill many.

At the Bridge they had a great Dispute for a long time, but at last Cromwell's Army did beat them off and they fled over Darwen Bridge and soe up that hill above Walton Towne. In the feilde upon the east of the way they maid Cabbins and lodged there that night. Where the Duke quartered I hard not. So night comming the Armies guarded both Bridges; and Generall Cromwell

The Scots beaten off Ribble Bridge.

It was observed yt in this pursuit that too Scots entering into a pore man's house took his Kettle to make them porish in Cromwell's Army following them so hastily that they would not leave the Kettle but caried it betwixt them till both were slaine.

returned to Preston and there quartered giving Order to our Lancashire forces there to abide. And when morning was come wth his Armie he followed the Duke who fled before him, Yet at some places made some stands as if they would fight it out, as upon Chorley More and Standish More; but did not stand to it. The Scots was said to be greedie of Plundering though they were flying, for some of them were plundering the houses where Cromwell's men were killing some of their fellows without the doors.

The Scots plunder wthin when their fealowes are killed without.

The greatest stand they made was between Newton and Winwick, in a strait passage in that Lane that they made very stronge and forcible, soe that Cromwell's men could not fight them. But by the information of the People thereabouts and by their direction they were soe guided into the fieldes that they came about so that they drove them up to that litle Greene place of ground short of Winwiek Church and there they made a great slaughter of them and then pursued them to Warrington, there taking the most if not all of their Foot. The Duke with all the Horse being fled and gone for at one tyme was brought to the Generall 22 Coullers. The Duke was taken afterwards at Vttoxeter in . . . . by the Lord Grey and Collonel Wayte and with him 3000 Horse and Lieutenant Generall Baillie. There was slain of the Scots 3000 and there was taken prisoners 9000.[122]

A great Slaughter made of the Scottish Army near Winwick.

Taken of the Scots in this Expedition
1 Generall 1 Lord
7 Colonells
7 Lieutenant Colonells
13 Maiors
31 Captaines
43 Lieutenants
21 Cornets
20 Quartermasters 34 Corporals
5 Trumpeters
3000 common Souldiers, the Duke's Servants 65. The Lord Bergem's Servants 7.

Providence soe ordered it that Generall Cromwell fell upon the Scottish Army in the very flank thereof, for (as was said before) the Duke, with the Infantrie traine of Artillery and Cariages, came all to Preston at once, with Langden's forces, and vpon these it was that the Generall fell and defeated them. Now the great bodie of the Duke's Cavalrie and Horse was a daies march behind him, and coming up when the Battell was at hand, the Generall when he had well beaten them vp gave Orders that a strong bodie of his Horse should fall down to the lower side of Fulwood More neare the way betwixt Garstang and Preston, to hindre, if possible the Reare of the Duke's Army for comming vp: vpon the sight of those Horse and hearing of the Musketts and Defeat given to the Duke his Reare durst not come out. Great numbers of them

Generall Cromwell fell upon the Scottish Army in the Flanke thereof.

turned not back by the same way.[123] They came but tooke other waies and fled downward into the Fyld Country and in great feare, as was thought, parted themselves into sundry roads or waies. For more expedition some took up a way by the Lund Chapell through Treales and up to Eswicke and soe homeward. Others of them went through Kirkham and were going through it all that night and soe to Thistleton whether over Wyre Watter or by S^t^ Michael's was not certain. In Kirkham they were hard in their March to be very dolefull and it was thought they carried some dead men with them yet, the night being dark, could not well be discerned. The Duke's Artillery and Cariages were all taken standing uppon Walton Coppe. What number there was of them I never hard.

The Duke's Reare durst not come out but turned by waies.

The Scots flee divers waies.

Within three daies after that Generall Cromwell had leaft Preston to pursue the Duke there came up to Preston to folow him a Regiment of Northern men out of the Bishoprieke of Durham carying all Blaek Curllers: But were Ordered not to folowe the Generall any further, but to quarter in the cuntry until further order from him. Their quarters were assigned to be in Kirkham towne and every towne in the prish were assessed what they should pay them in money or vietuall after the Rates expressed in their Order. These were the most theevish Companies that ever the Country was pestered with during the Warr. Notwithstanding they had extraordinary allowanee out of the Parish soe that at the least they had 100^li^ for three daies quarter, yet they went most of the Parish over plundering and stealing whatever they could conveniently carry away, and was going over the Parish for another Assessment and would have foreed it, but that it pleased God unexpeetedly and upon a soodon to call them away. ffor the Generall having pursued the Duke's Army as far as Warrington and wholy dissipated it, he returned back againe about the midle of the week, his purpose being to march againe into Yorkshire. He therefore sent Order to all his forees that with all haste they should follow him being then gone to the Stonyhurst where he quartered the first night he came into the County. Soe that very night

A Thievish Regiment of Blaek Cullers are quartered in Kirkham.

Cromwell returns north from pursuing the Duke

when it was late the parish was freed of them and of a great many Troopes more who had not taken up their Quarters in it aboue twoo hours before they were called of, their Suppers being providing, which they could not stay to take.

Scots plunder sore as they march through the County.

The Cariag of Duke Hamilton's Army in their march was very evill, for they plundered extreamly, yea abundance of sutty vacabound women that folowed the Duke's camp vexed the pore country sore; yet in their Retreat without Doubt it was well paied home into their Bosomes many getting by them, though against their wills. The better sort of them were well stored with money and when they saw themselves defeated and that there was noe way for them to escape but to be taken prisoners, some hide their money in the feildes about Preston and have, since the times were more quiet, come and found their owne money and enioyed it. And it was thought that Preston and the townes about it lost not, but gained much by their flight. Many were taken prisoners by the Country and more by the Souldierie. And thus that great Army supposed to consist of 2200 strong[124] was brought to nothing through God's blessing and assistance with 9000, for Cromwell's Armie was not above that when at the most. No doubt it was the just hand of God against them for most of them had been in the Parliament Service at Yorke and elswhere and Received pay for it, but now perfidiously had altered their Course to advantage themselves upon the Ruin of this Nation. Whereas they have bought it full deare and at a great Rate sins. That missery they would haue brought vpon vs is fallen vpon themselves.

Duke Hamilton Army 2200.
Cromwell Armie 9000.

Generall Cromwell's speedie Retreat out of the Shire was that he might march into Scotland to help the more honest ptie there who were overpowered by the malignants. And this Expedition of Duke Hamilton against the Nation was carried on and set forward contrary to their minds. But Cromwell set them in power and leaft them in a good posture. Thus this Nation and this Shire was freed of this much feared evill. Though this was not any of the Lancashire Warrs yet was it acted in this County and

God's goodness therein is to be kept in remembrance. — The next thing acted here was the young Scottish King's march through it with the Earle of Darbie's returne with Colonell Tildsley and others out of the Isle of Man in the year 1651.

The Parliament of England sent Generall Cromwell with an Army of Horse and Foot into Scotland in the spring of the year 1650 to requite Duke Hamilton Expedition into this Nation who marched into Scotland almost as far as Edinburge and lay there a good space without any Exploit or Battell offered him, many of his souldiers falling into sickness which was his greefe. At the last he retyred (with purpose as was said) for England to recruit his weakened men. The Scots having raised an Army of 20000 at the least seeing his retreat though they durst not fight before now thought to take him at advantage, therefore marched close after him in the reare soe that they dogged his Army boasting that they would keep their Winter quarters in England as well as they had kept their Sommer quarters in Scotland with many like Bravadoes. They continued thus until they came to Dunbar in Scotland. There the Armies engaged the 3rd of September that yeare and God gave Cromwell's Army the Victory and the Scots flying (many of them being slaine before) they pursued them soe fearsly that they durst not stay eyther in Edinburgh or Lyth but forsook them both and fled beyond Sterlinge Watter leaving both Edinburgh and Lyth to be possessed by Cromwell and his Army, who tooke them and held them and ever after drove the Scotts into a narrower compass, winning their towns and forts from them.

Generall Cromwell marcheth into Scotland with an Army.

He defeateth the Scots neare unto Dunbar when his Army was in a low condition.

The Scots leave Edinburgh and Lyth in a rout & Cromwell possesseth himself of them & Sterling Watter.

The Winter folowing the late King's eldest Sonne coming out of France or the Low Countries into Scotland, the Scots entertained him and acknowledged him to be their King, and made a greate adoe with him, calling him "*a blith, bony, boye,*" and in the Spring following they raised an Army of 16000 horse and foot. But Generall Cromwell going on with his Conquest made good and firme what he had got from them entrenching still upon them; they having noe stomache to fight with him vnless they could not avoid it, yet alwaies coming to the worst. Their purpose

King Charles' eldest Sonne came into Scotland & by the Scots acknowledged as their King.

He raiseth an Army of 16000 Horse and Foot and marcheth into England.

at last was to march theire Armie into England thereby supposing that by that meanes Cromwell and his Armie would be drawn of from Scotland and then they should recover their own; if not, gaine some footing in England, whereas they came short of both. For though it was soe that Cromwell was called into England yet he left such Forces there that gained more in his absence than when he was there. And they by their coming into England lost all.

About June 1651 the young King with his Army as I said of 16000 and a light Traine of Artillery was vpon their March for England escaping soe out of Scotland that they had no opposition at all of Cromwell, and as the event showed it was designed betwixt the yong King and the Earle of Darbie then in the Isle of Man that hee with all those men of esteeme that were fled thither for safetie as alsoe all the Force the Earle could make should meet him in England about such a tyme — which was August — for in August he marched through this County carying very faire and peaceably without plundering or any other violence, all the County through, not offering to force or compell any to comply or joyn with them unlesse they voluntarily offered themselves, only provision for there Army was required in a faire and mild way. This faire carying tooke much with the County and won their harts soe farr that many said and were well persuaded they would prevaile, their Candour and Cariage was soe amiable. They made noe stay or abode in any place over a night or two. The young King road through Preston mounted on horse backe and they said he road through every Streete to be seen of the People. Yet it was observed that he received small Intertainement there, only one woman who seemed to show more respect to him than all the towne besides, which it was said was some greefe to him. Hee was well nigh through Lancashire when the Earle of Darbie landed.[125].

The Earle of Darby out of the Isle of Man meeteth him.

Generall Cromwell in Scotland knowing of his march into England sent after him some Troops of Horse under the Command of Maior Generall Lambert to flanke his Armie all the way in their

march in England, who, all along in their march was as nigh them as the waies would permit sometimes nearer and sometimes further off, still in their flanke so that of the one syde they could not scatter or rally, having yet, as was said, no order to give them Battle. But being come to Warrington Bridge before them, and some Companies of Foot of Lancashire and Cheshire having come vp to him, there was a show as if they would make resistance against them. Yet Generall Lambert drew them off, and marched fairly before them to Knutsford Heath, before he could let them pass him, or take a bye way from them.[126] Some said he did not feel any great confidence, or rather was fearfull, that those Auxiliary Forces should sustain any repulse or danger more than himself. And, therefore, at their drawing off said no lesse, and putting them all before him, marched in their reare, betwixt the Scottish Army and them, all the waie. The Scots charged his reare guard twisse in that march, and was beatten off, yet lost 30 men, some slaine and the rest taken prisoners; whereas he lost but four in that march.

Generall Lambert ordered with some Troops to flanke the King of Scots Armie in his march to England.

The Earle of Darbie, (as was said) came out of the Isle of Man with seaven Shipps or Vessells, landed vpon Friday in the morning, the . . .[127] of August, cast Anchor vpon the North syde of the River Wyre, vpon Prissal Sands, over against Rossal Warrant, giving a volley of shots, and, besides men of qualitie, with him, some 300 Manck Souldiers. They marched that night to Weeton[128] and there quartered, to whom resorted that night some Popish gentlemen of the Fyld country receiving Commissions from him to be Captaines, to raise Companies, and thereupon plundered pore mens horses. The next morning they marched away, compelling the Country to convey away his Baggage, passing over Ribble Watter[129] marched to Lathom House, and staying supper there after went to Holland, and from thence took post after the King of Scots overtaking him at . . . . .[130]

The Earle of Darby's arrivall out of the Isle of Man.

And the event cleared that his Designe was to abyd in this County and raise what strength and force he could to put it into a posture for the Scottish King. After a tyme he returned back

His designe to raise forces for the King of Scots in this County

to Warrington[131] and then to Preston and there made his residence whilst he durst, till feare caused him to remove.[132] He stayed there but ten daies. During which stay a Regiment of Horse and twoo or three Companies of Foot Souldiers of the Parliament parte came from Chester[133] into this County on purpose to attend the Earle take notice of his Actions, crosse his designes and comfort the well-affected to the Parliament, who then were in a deserted condition, expecting no better from him and his complices than formerly they had received.

But before his return from the Scottish King and his comming to Preston, the Vessels that caryed him out of the Island lying at Anchor whether neeped or no, the Maisters and Saylors lying about Presall, Drinking and Solacing themselves, without feare or any expectation of Danger to them. Some of the Commissioners of the Militia of this Hundred resyding within Preston Mr Georg Piggot one of them, who more, I hard not, with the assistance of Captaine Edward ffrear, calling with them some trustie men of the County without any great speach unexpectedly went where the said vessells lay apprehending such Maisters and Sailors as they found and making seasure of some of the Vessells by taking away from them their taglings caryed the men away with them. Amongst whom there was one of speciall note, a malignant enemie to the Parliament who had done great harme to the frends thereof vpon the Seas. His name was Captaine Cotherell. Now having brought them Prisoners to Preston, report being that the Earle of Darby was coming with what force he had to make his aboad in Preston: upon this, Captaine French received order to convey this Cotherell[134] (and who els with him I hard not) to York, there to be kept in durance; and being gone on his journey too farre for the Earle, or any for him, to overtake: Nevertheless Colonell Tildsley, and some of the new raised Troopes folowed them to Birdie-loane head, nere to Mr Sherburnes of Stonyhurst, not seeing them. And in his returne againe he took Prisoners a companie of honest men who were flying into Yorkshire to avoid the Earle, and kept themselves att Libertie. His Troopers tooke their Horses, money,

The Vessells that brought him are seased upon and some Masters and Sailors apprehended.

Captain French conveyeth Cotherell and the Prisoners to York.

Colonell Tildsley taketh divers countrymen Prisoners.

cloathes, and weapons from them, and brought them to Preston. Yet Providence soe ordered, they were not long in hould. Cotherell at the Assizes at York was arraigned, convicted of death, and executed. What became of the rest of the Maisters and Sailors I hard not.

The Earle giveth commission to call up the Country.

The Earle at Preston gave commissions to divers his agents to call up the Country together that they might raise forces out of it. And Warrants were sent all over to the Constables to command them to meet some part of them at Much Singleton in the Fyld and others at Kirkham vpon Monday the [135] . . . of . . . . . there Warrants issuing forth the Saturday before they should meet, being the . . . day of . . . .[136] Thus the King's partie vapoured exceedingly and put a great feare into the Country as if they could have conquered all and had it at their wills; but they were prevented, God having so ordered.

Much Singleton and Kirkham are the places of meeting.

Colonell Lilburne cometh to Brindle, there quartereth.

That a Regiment of Horse under the conduction of Colonell Lilburne and two or three foot companies from Chester[137] (of which I spoke before) being within the County, Colonell Lilburne with his horse drew as neare Preston, where the Earle lay, as with safetie and conveniency he could. So upon Saturday the . . . of . . . .[138] came to Brindle four miles of Preston and there quartered with his Regiment. They put their horses to grasse in those low Meadows betweene the Church and Preston, the Souldiers taking their ease being laid down by their Sadles in the closes where their Horses were feeding; which, as the event proved, was made known to some of the Earle's party in Preston by some secret enemy (they being all enimies therabouts) what a prize might be had of Lilburne's Souldiers horses the men being all at rest. This being sodenly apprehended by a company of yong striplings, Gentlemen's Sons with other like to them, new fresh men altogether ignorant of such warlike exploits to the number of twentie and twoo or therabouts—these, rashlie, without order or advice, adventured upon the desperat designe in the day tyme to make a prize of the Horses of some of Colonell Lilburne's Troopers. They were directed through a secret private way in woody, close places into

Receiveth a great Allarum before night that day.

the Meadows, where the Horses were feeding which gave soe sudden alarum to the Souldiers halfe asleepe that they were at a mighty stand, not knowing what to think, conceive, or doe in the busines: For the Guard that was set in the loane below, nearer to Preston neyther seeing nor hearing any thing of any enimie.

Upon the Allarum they cryed "Armes, Armes," which when they had done they disputed so vehementlie with the young men that they were soundly payed home for their forwardnes. None escaped but eyther slayne or taken, save one called Newsham[139] who forsaking his Horse fled into a thick Oller tree and there hid himselfe in the leaves thereof and at night went away. There was slaine . . .[140] Butler the young heir of Racliffe; . . .[141] Hesketh a second sonn of Mr Hesketh of Maynes,[142] and a young lad of the North country called Knipe with others whose names I hard not. Richard Wilding servant to Mrs Stanley of Eccleston left his service to be a Souldier and to attend young Butler. He was not killed downright in the skirmish but sore wounded and cut that being caryed to Preston he died within ten daies. John Clifton second son to Mr Clifton of Lythom was grievously wounded and taken prisoner.

Slaine and taken prisoners at Brindle.

This ended and all quiet again Colonell Lilburne being ignorant what other designe the Earle with his Army might haue he being in such a malignant towne as the like was not in all the County removed his quarters thence further from Preston. And the day folowing being the Lords day ould Colonell Richard Shutleworth and the Country thereabouts came to him at Houghton Tower and there stood in a bodie the most of that day making so great a show that they were discovered to Preston. Now whether this bodie of men scent, or the Discomfit given the other day or what fear els took hould of the Earle and his Army is unknowne, yet in the silence of the night they secretly marched from Preston, making noe stay before they came to Wiggon.

The Earle of Darby steals sodenly the night after the scirmish at Brindle from Preston and makes no stay before he came to Wiggon

It was eight or nyne of the cloeke the next morning before Colonell Lilburne had any Intiligence of their marching away and totall leaving of Preston, which when he was certaine of and which

way they marched, with as much convenient speed as possible he gathered his Regiment into a bodie and made after them and was come within a myle and a halfe of Wiggon by one of the Cloek being resolved and disposed to give the Earle Battell if he stayed. And Providence had soe ordered that there were come vp to his assistance two Foot Companies from Chester under the leading of Captaine Robert Jollie[143] and Captaine Samuell Smith and an other Foot Companie of new raised men from Liverpoole. These were quartered within Brindle and kept Guard in the Church of Brindle the Saturday night after the defeat of the young men spoken of before. These were all the Foot that Colonell Lilburne had marching with him to Wiggon. There were alsoe coming vp to his assistance one thousand foote more as far as Manchester, but the defeat being given to the Earle came no further. Colonell Lilburne by the way received Intelligence that the Earle with his Army stayed at Wiggon to give him Battell which soe wrought upon his Commanders and Souldiers that they grew very stearne and fearst in their countenances, soe that they showed much dislike to have any Country men to see or be neare them when the Battel should be — advising them with some smart Language to be gone.

The place they fought in was from Wiggon towne's end all along that broad sandie loane vp to that loane end which goeth towardes Mr Bradshaw's House at Hay. The Earle and his Army came from Wiggon to meet Lilburne in that loane who receeived them with what valour and couradge he was able. The Dispute was very hot and manly on both sides and a good space very doubtfull how it would go. The Earle's company stoutly and with much courady beatting and dryving Lilburne almost to that loane end that goes to the Hay. A reserve of Horse coming up to him then put the Dispute out of doubt soe that the Earle having receeived a blow over his face turned his back and fled. (Some said without his hat.) Captaine Jollie with the other Captaines and their companies were active and serviceable in beating up the Earle's foot whereof many were slaine and the Manck Souldiers

The Battell was in Wiggon loane from it to that loane that goes towards Hay.

The Earle receiving a blow over his face flyeth.

which the Earle brought with him, being pore naked Snakes, those that escaped with life were scattered up and downe the Country being set to worke in some places proved very false and treacherous to their Masters; and always where they could stole away from their Masters into the Island againe that within no long time there were not any of them to be seene. The Foot above said flanked the Earle's Army bravely with much resolution upon the back of the Hedges. Most of them that were slaine was in the pursuit and flight. Uncertain it was for a tyme what was become of the Earle whether Slaine or taken; yet after awhile it was certainly knowne that he fled through Wiggon and some Companie with him in much haste and lodged that night at . . .[144] and so went straight after the Scottish King to Worcester to bring him tydings that he was defeated and wholy routted. There was slaine a number of brave Gentlemen. Sir Thomas Tildsley, Colonell Boynton (sometime Governour of Scarborough for the Parliament which he betrayed unto the enemie) Maior Generall Sir William Widderington, slaine in Wiggon towne in the pursuit, Colonell Trollop with many other brave spirits no notice taken of . . . .

Commanders slaine.

. . . . Sir William Throckmorton, Sir Timothy Featherston Hugh, and severall other Colonells and Commanders of qualitie with four hundred more of the common sort taken prisoners. The Earle's Army of Foot was at the least one Thousand and Five Hundred Horse, and Colonell Lilburne's Army was three hundred foot, six troops of horse and four companies of Dragooners. The Earle had order and commission from the Scottish Kinge to stay and reside within this County with the Gentlemen above named and Maior Generall Massey to assist him to raise Forces for him within the same, viz. six thousand Foot and 150 Horse as an additional strength to his Army.

The number of them that were taken prisoners.

Thus far is gone in relating what part of the late Intestine Warr and other occurrences concerning it hath been acted within this County. The close of it — and the last thing I have to relate,

is the taking, Imprisonment and Death of the Earle of Darby afforesaid, who was the Prime Agent that sett the Warr afoot in it and his Death the last Action that was effected about it. The first assault in this Cause was the death of that pore man killed in Manchester by some of his Complices, which, with the Sieges he laid against it afterwards, neither of them were honourable.

To speake a word of that Honorable House of Lathom. It was of much and great esteeme in all the County — I meane the Earles thereof were honoured and had in respect generally with all. The king could not be more. As Lords Lieutenants they had the command of all insomuch that there was not any within the County how great soever or independent to them that would, nay that durst, affront them. Almost in any cause since the tyme that King Henry the Seventh conferred that Honorable title of Earles upon the Lords of Lathom there have been six (if I be not deceived). Most of them have kept great Hospitalitie which brought them much love and more applause. Good were they with their Tenants and put them to very little foile till of late. Loyall and true to their Soverigns were they, this being their glorie and a principle much stood upon by him that we shall speak of. This caryed him to that forwardness in his cause against the Kingdom's right, that lost both himselfe as alsoe is the Detriment and Damage of his Family, besides what his Country, that loved him so well, hath suffered thereby. He with his Honorable Consort though outwardly they professed the Protestant Doctrine yet taking into his assistance in this Cause for his Sovereign, enimies, yea disperate unreconcilcable enimies to the Truth which he professed, and such enimies who being deceitful in their harts to him, not loving him for the Truth's sake he professed, would when they had obtained their own ends by such as himselfe, have forced them, yea, and the King himselfe, to have relinquished what they professed, otherwise an Indian Nutt might have been administered unto them.[145]

And it could not be but that at one tyme or other that litle thing

in his breast called Conscience, would object to him that he had done wronge and that he could not with confidence and comfort expect that God should bless but rather blast all his undertakings and designes (how likely soever in reason) whilst he joined himselfe in league with God's and his enimies. But I leave to say more of that, neyther to censure him; he is entered into his Judgment. He was a worthie Gentleman, courteous and frendly, for anything that could be seene to the contrary. He always came to the Worst and Dishonour was his reward in all the business of this Warr. He was quietly setled in the Island if he could have kept there.

After the Fight at Worcester the Earle of Darby and a Scottish Lord are taken in the Country by Captaine Edge.

The Scottish young King being at Worcester and he flying thither (as affore is said) and that great Battel being fought wherein their whole power was dissipated and wholy routed yet the Earle escaped and got safe away.[146] He was wandering in the Country, having in his company the Lord Lauderdale a nobleman of Scotland, who having with much travell and sore ryding tyred their Horses fell into the hands of a Lancashire man — Captaine Edge. He tooke them prisoners, giving them quarter, and brought them to Chester. The Earle was committed to the Castle with a Guard of Soldiers to attend him.

The Earl of Darby is tried by a Court Martiall.

The Parliament, (as it appeared,) did take no notice of the Quarter that was before given him, but gave Order that hee, Sir Timothy Featherston Haugh and Captain Benlowe should by a Court Martiall be tryed vpon their lives. And according to the proceedings of that Court they were found worthy to dye and were sentenced soe. The Earles sentence was to be caried to Boulton within this County and there to be beheaded. The Sentence he thought was very rigid and he not dealt with at all after the course of Martiall Lawes. After fair quarter given to be judged to dye was a case not ordinary. Whereupon by a Petition he (as it were) appeales to the Lord Generall Cromwell hoping to fynd favour with him. The Petition is as foloweth:

Being sentenced to Dye appealeth by a Petition to the Lord Generall Cromwell.

To the Right Honorable his excellencie
The Lord Generall Cromwell
The humble Petition of James Earle of Darby
A sentenced Prisoner in Chester.
Sheweth

That it appeareth by the annexed, what Plea your Petitioner [hath] urged for Life in which the Court Martiall here were pleased to over rule him. It being a matter of Law and a point not adjudged nor presidented in all this Warr; And the Plea being only capable of Appeale to your Excellencie's wisdome [which] will safely resolue it and your Petitioner being also [a] Prisoner to the High Court of Parliament in relation to his Rendition of the Isle of Man.

In all he most humbly Craves your Excellencie's grace that he may as well obtaine your Excellencie's Judgment on his Plea as the Parliament's mercy with your Excellencie's favour to him and he shall owe his Life to your Lordship's service

And ever pray
DARBY.

Having gotten eyther no Answer to his Petition, or such a one as was not hoped or expected, whereupon there was no likelihood of escaping the Sentence pronounced upon him except he could get out of their power, he therefore complotted with some intimate friends what way he might give the slip and begone. And it was devised betwixt them [on] such a night it should be and by pretending some business for him to doe vpon the Leads of the Castle over his Chamber, the other would be readie with a long Roap to throw up to him by which Roap he might slyd downe. This was desperately effected and he gotten out of the City. It was not long ere he was missed and diligent search was [made] after him in all parts, yet Providence had soe ordered that soe he might not be quit, for (as it was said) he unawares discovered

The Earle of Darby offering to make an escape slydeth desperately by a rope from the top of the Castle to the ground.

is taken againe.

His letter leaft in his Chamber to his Countesse in the Island.

himselfe and being laid hould on againe was more strietly waited upon till his execution. Upon this hope of Eseape he left a letter upon the Table in his Chamber directed to his Countesse, a eopie wherof foloweth:

To his Ladie in the Isle of Man.

My dearest Hart,

It hath been my hap sinee I last leaft you to have not one eomfortable tydings for you; and this must be most sad of all that I now write as in a maysse of many sad things in one. I will not stay long in partieulars but in short inform you that the King is dead or escaped in disguise, all the Nobilitie of his partie killed or taken, saving a very few, that it matters not much where they be; the eommon Souldiers dispersed some in prisons, some sent into other Countries, none in likelihood to serve more on the ould seore. I eseaped one great danger at Wiggon but I met with a worse at Woreester. I was not so fortunate to meet with any that would kill mee, for the Lord Lauderdale and I having tyred our horses, we were not thought worthy the killing, so we had quarter given us by one Captaine Edge, a Lancashire man, and that was so eivill to mee that I and all that love mee are behoulden to him. I thought myselfe happie to be brought to Chester, where I might see my twoo Daughters and have meanes (as I doubted not) to send to you: but I feare my coming here may eost me deare (unless Almightie God in whom I trust, doe help me some other way); but whatsoever comes to me I have peace in my own breast, and not diseomfort at all, but the sense of your greefe, and that of my poore Children and Friends.

Collonell Duckenfield, the Governour of the Towne, is going aecording to his Orders from the Parliament and Generall, to the Isle of Man, where he will make known to you his business.[147] And I have eonsidered your condition and mine own and thereupon write to you this advice. Take it not as from a Prisoner, for if I be never soe elose, my hart is my owne, free still as the

best, and I scorne to be compelled to your preiudice though by the severest torture. I have procured Baggarley, who was prisoner in this towne, to come over to you to Justify my Letter. I have tould him what reasons, and he will tell them you, which done, may save the spilling of blood in that Island and it may be of some here, which is deare to you. But of that take you no care; neither treat at all for it, for I perceive it will do you more hurt than good. Have a care my deare soule of yourselfe, my dear Mall, my dear Ned and Billie. As for those here I gave them the best advice I can. It is not with us as heretofore.

My sonn and his bedfealowe and my nephewe Stanleye have come to see mee. Of them all I will say nothing at this time, excepting that my sonn showes great affection to me, and nowe is gone to London with exceeding care and passion for my good. He is changed for the better (I thanke God) which would have beene a great comfort to me if I could have more to leave him, or that he had better provided for himselfe.

The Discourses which I have had of the Isle of Man have produced the enclosed, or at the least such desire of mine in writing, as I hope Baggarley will deliver to you upon Oath to be mine. And truly as matters goe it will be your best to make conditions for yourselfe, your Children, and friends in the manner wee have proposed, or as you can further agree with Colonell Duckenfield, who being so much a Gentleman born, will doubtlesse for his owne honours sake, deale fairely with you.

You know how much that place is my Darling, but since it is God's will to dispose thus of this Nation, and of Scotland, and I believe of Ireland too, there is no more to be said concerning the Isle of Man, But referr all to the good will of God; and to get the best conditions you can for yourselfe and our pore frendes there: And begin the worlde againe, though neare to Winter. The Lord of Heaven blesse you and comfort you and my pore children. The Son of God whose blood was shed to do us good

preserve our lyves that we may meet again on Earth, however in Heaven, where we shall never be plundered. And so I rest everlastingly,

Your faithfull

DERBIE.

This offer of the Earle to make an Eseape caused him to be the more severely kept in and his execution to be forwarded with more speed so that the tyme at the last was fixed that the sentence formerly passed upon him must be executed. And the fifeteenth of October 1651 was the tyme limited that it should be done. Therefore twoo Troops of Colonell Jones[148] regiment commanded by Captaine Sontkey[149] were ordered to convey him from Chester to Boulton upon the thirteenth of October before where he rested all the day following till Wednesday being the 15th daye about two of the cloeke in the afternoone at which tyme he was brought forth to the place of Execution A seaffold being ereeted not far from the Market Crosse in Boulton and neare unto that place (by all relation) where he slewe Captain Bootle. When coming to the foot of the ladder to goe vp to the Seaffold he kissed it, saying "I am thus requited for my love. I submit to the will of God." And being come to the top of the Seaffold he began and spake to the People as foloweth:

He is conveyed from Chester to Boulton upon the 13th of October to be Executed the 15th following.

"Good Christians,

The Earle of Derbies speach vpon the Seaffold.

Since it hath pleased God thus to take away my life, I am glad it must be in this Towne, where some have been made believe I am a man of blood. It is a selaunder that I should be the death of any. It was my desire, the last tyme I was in this county, to come hither as to a People that ought to serve the King and (as I conceive) upon good grounds. Whereas it was said I was accustomed to be a man of blood. It doth not lie upon my conscience for I am wrongfully belyed being one that desired Peace.

I was borne in honour, have lived in honour, and hope I shall

die with honour. I had a faire estaite and needed not to mend that. I had frendes by whom I was respected and I respected them. They were readie to do for mee and I was readie to do for them. I have done nothing but after the example of my predecessors to do you Good. It was the King that called me in, and I thought I was bound to wait upon him, to do him service."

Then there arysing some tumult amongst the People he gave over, which when it was quieted looking every side of him he said further —

"I thought to have spoken more but I have done and I shall not enlarge any thing save only my good will to this towne of Boulton. I put my trust in Jesus Christ."

Again looking about him he said —

"I never deserved this from above; and as for you honest frendes that are Souldiers, know that my life is taken from me after that Quarter was given me, and that by a Counsell of Warr, which was never done before to any."

After this taking a turne or twoo up and down the Scaffold he said —

"The Lord blesse you all. The Son of God Almighty blesse you all of this towne of Boulton, Manchester, and all Lancashire. God send you may have a King againe. I die here a Souldier, a Christian Souldier."

Then sitting downe in his Chaire he said to the Souldier that had beene his Keeper — "They are not readie yet" — meaning they had not the Blocke readie: but he bade them commend him to all his good Frendes in Chester and tell them that he dyed like a Souldier.

Then causing the Coffin (which was set upon the Scaffold to put

his bodie in) to be oppened, he said — "When I lye Imprisoned here a Guard will not need to attend me with Swords." And walking againe about the Seaffold he said — "There is not one man that revileth me, God be thanked." Looking also upon such as stood on the Scaffold with him he said — "What do you stay for? It is hard I cannot get a Bloek to have my head cut off."

Casting his eye upon the Executioner he said to him — "Thy Coat is so Burly thou wilt never hit right. The Lord bless thee and forgive thee." Then speaking to Mr Bridgeman he said — "They have brought me hither too soone. The Bloek is not readie for me. Mr Bridgeman tell your brother I take it a greate merey of God that I am brought hither for I might have died in the midst of a Battel and not dyed so well, for now I have had time to make my Peace with God."

After this he desired his man to lay downe his head in the Bloek to see how it would fit; But his man refusing it, whereupon the Trumpeter being vpon the Seaffold laid his neek upon it to try how it would fite. And the Earle then laid his neck upon the bloek and taking it up againe caused the Bloek to be turned. Then laying his neek upon it againe said — "Do not strike yet." And rysing up again he walked about the Seaffold saying — "Good People I desire your Prayers — I desire your Prayers. I pray God blesse you. The Son of God blesse you all. The Lord blesse this nation. And the Lord blesse my pore wiffe and children."

And giving his napkins to his servants, hee kneeled down and prayed privately, and then he laid his head upon the bloek saying to the Executioner — "When I lift up my hand, Give the blow." But just as he gave the signe one of his Servants that stood by said "My Lord let me speake with you before" — (but what was spoken is not known) — whereupon he looking up said — "I have given you the signe, and it was ill mist."

Then continuing upon his knees he said — "honest frends I thank God I neyther fear Man nor Death. I rejoyce to serve the

King and my Country. I am sorry to leave so many my frendes; but I hope the Lord will keep and blesse them. The Lord of Heaven blesse my poore wife and children. The Lord blesse his people and my good King. Blessed be God's holy name for ever and ever, Amen. And let the Earth be filled with his Glorie."

Then giving the last signe by lifting up of his hands, the Executioner severed his head from his body at one blow, which being taken up by his Servants that attended about him they put it to his bodye again. And with his Clothes upon him [he] was put into the Coffin, there readie, which had abundance of seedes in it to receive the blood. And he was caried away that night to ——— and from thence to Ormeskirke there to be buried amongst his Ancestors.

NOTES.

ABBREVIATIONS OF THE REFERENCES.

The Houghton Papers are some original documents preserved in the Warrington Museum.

C. W. T. Civil War Tracts.

C. S. Chetham Society's Publications.

H. History.

A. L. C. W. Army List of the Civil War.

Peet MS. A manuscript account of the Lancashire Lieutenancy after the Restoration, in the possession of Mrs. Peet.

NOTE 1. This sentence is at variance with the rest of the Preface, and must have been added after the Restoration, although it does not appear in the original as an interlineation. Probably the author recopied his whole work after the king's return, and omitted to alter the date.

NOTE 2. This alludes to the king's entering the House of Commons on the 4th January 1642, and attempting to seize the five members — Hollis, Hazelrigge, Hampden, Pym and Strode.

NOTE 3. This nobleman, at that time Lord Strange and not yet become Earl of Derby, succeeded to the latter title by the death of his father on the 29th September 1642.

NOTE 4. To this meeting, held on the 20th June 1642, his lordship brought with him his eldest son, then a youth of fifteen.

(*Moore Rental, C. S.* 139) It was here, according to Angier, that his lordship conceived the design of seizing on the magazines, one of which was at Warrington. In 1640 a large quantity of powder and match was bought at that place, which seems both then and afterwards to have been a considerable mart for such articles, and sent to store the magazine at Liverpool. The invoice shews the powder to have cost about 1*s.* and the match about 4*d.* a pound, but in 1642 powder had risen to 1*s.* 4*d.* and match to 7*d.* a pound, which was the price paid for them in 1584. (*Farington Papers, C. S.* 69; *Lancashire Lieutenancy, C. S.* 145, 307)

Note 5. On the 15th July 1642, Lord Strange, then suffering under the affront put upon him in depriving him of the lieutenancy, accepted an invitation from some friends who sympathised with him, to attend a banquet at the house of Mr. Alexander Greene in Manchester. During the entertainment, Captains John Holcrofte and Thomas Birche, active partisans of the Parliament, entered the town with an armed force and beat to arms. Hastily quitting the banquet, his lordship mustered his small force — which has been variously estimated at thirty, one hundred, one hundred and twenty, or four hundred men — and a skirmish, in which it seems his opponents were the aggressors, ensued; and Richard Percival a linen weaver, of Levenshulme, or, as the old Church Register has it, of Grindlowe, was killed. Richard Percival was of the Royston family, and it is said that he met his death by the hand of Richard Fleetwood of Penwortham, the same who was afterwards taken prisoner at the storming of Preston. (Palmer's *Siege of Manchester*, 12; *Penwortham Priory, C. S.* lx; *H. Lancashire*, vol. ii. 12; *Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society*, vol. i. 62; *H. Birch Chapel, C. S.* 90) After the skirmish Lord Strange retired to the house of Sir Alexander Radcliffe of Ordsall.

Note 6. In the *Civil War Tracts*, where this well known circumstance is also mentioned, the captain is said to have escaped under a cart in the street, from which he afterwards gained his well known sobriquet of "the Carter." The account in the text shews that Lord Strange was innocent of the charge of having trailed Captain Birche behind a cart. Not long after the skirmish at Manchester,

Captain Birche and Mr. Harrison were thrown into prison for opposing the Lathom lay. (*H. Whalley, p.* 317.) Promotion came rapidly in those times. On the 14th December 1642, Captain Birche received from Lord Wharton his commission as major in Colonel Assheton's regiment, and on the 15th March following Lord Fairfax made him colonel of a foot regiment. In 1644 he was made governor of Liverpool, and on the death of Sir Richard Wynn in 1649 he was elected M.P. for that place. Colonel Birche was a very active servant of the Parliament and took part in most of the local engagements of the time. On the 15th July 1642 he was at Manchester, and he was there again at the siege. On the 13th February following he was at the storming of Preston, and on the 22nd March 1646 he was engaged under Sir Wm. Brereton in the successful encounter with Sir Jacob Astley, at Stow-on-the-Wold in Gloucestershire. In August 1651 he was in the fight in Wigan Lane, and in the same month in 1659 he was at the battle in which Sir George Booth was routed at Winnington. On 30th September 1651 a letter, which has escaped the notice of Mr. Carlyle, was addressed to him by Cromwell requiring him to assist in the reduction of the Isle of Man. (*Efarington Papers, C. S.* 156.) In 1654 and 1656 he was again returned M.P. for Liverpool. Colonel Birche has been severely blamed for his harsh treatment of the Ladies Stanley, when they were under his charge; for his reckless removal of some of the muniments of Manchester old church to London, where they were destroyed by fire, and for his ungenerous suspicions of Humphry Chetham, which hindered and had well nigh prevented his munificent foundations at Manchester. On the 30th June 1660, Sir Ralph Assheton in his place in Parliament informed the House that a person who sat in the last Parliament took a bond for 100*l.* for some particular service to be done in the House, and being desired to name the person he named Colonel Thomas Birche, of Liverpool. A memoir of Colonel Birche appears in the *History of Birch Chapel* (*C. S.* 90 to 99.) After being for several years disabled by age and infirmities, he died on the 5th August 1678, aged 71. When in Parliament in 1657-8 Colonel Birche had the sagacity to perceive and the boldness to point out the want of a sufficient maintenance for the ministers of religion in Lancashire, and when a committee was ordered to bring in a bill for redressing the evil, he said "I move for the parts in Lancashire which have had no benefit by your maintenance

where we have large parishes 16 miles square and 2,000 communicants. There is as much need of subdivision as of uniting." (Burton's *Diary*, ii. 232.) Colonel Thomas Birche must be distinguished from Colonel John Birche, who sat in the House at the same time as member for Leominster, and whom the scurrilous *Flagellum Parliamentarium* calls an old Rumper.

NOTE 7. Our author's entire silence as to any outrage and bloodshed on the previous 4th July, to which allusion is made in the Parliamentary paper of that date (*C. W. T.* 27) throws so much doubt upon the statement as to make it almost incredible. If blood had been shed so copiously on the 4th, then Richard Percival, who was slain on the 15th July, was not the first victim of the Civil war, nor ought his death to have been made the ground of so serious a charge against Lord Strange. It is not easy indeed to say in that sad period where the first blood was actually shed. Some say that Sir John Stowell, who fell in Somersetshire, was the first person slain, and others that it was a person killed in Yorkshire by the Northumberland horse. (*Rupert and the Cavaliers.*) It seems probable that the reported attack and bloodshed at Manchester on the 4th July arose out of some exaggeration of the story told in a letter of 27th July 1642 (*C. W. T.* 15, 16), detailing the appearance of Lord Strange with a great force at the neighbouring town of Bury.

NOTE 8. Warrington was the place at which the troops mustered, and from whence they marched towards Manchester on Saturday the 24th September 1642, under the command of Lord Strange, and attended amongst others by the following noblemen and gentlemen:—

(I.) Richard Lord Molineux, second Viscount Maryborough, who succeeded his father at an early age in 1632. In 1642, though a mere boy, he commanded the Lancashire Horse raised amongst Lord Derby's tenantry, but his rashness ultimately caused some coolness between him and the earl. He fought at Edge Hill and Worcester. In 1648 when he was taken prisoner and carried to London, the apprentices attempted to rescue him. He died soon after the battle of Worcester.

(II.) Sir John Girlington, high sheriff of the county. Sir John was of Thurland Castle, and was probably son of that Nicholas Girlington

who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Hoghton, and was in attendance during King James's visit to Hoghton Tower. Sir John rose to be a major-general in the king's service, and fell, according to one account, in the skirmish at East Bradford, or according to another, in the battle between Rossiter and Langdale at Melton Mowbray on 22nd February 1644. His widow, dame Katherine, then of South Cave, Yorkshire, suffered sequestration of her estate and was fined in the large sum of 800*l.* (England's *Black Tribunal*, 346; *C. W. T.* 344.) A Lieutenant-Colonel Girlington, probably Sir John's son, was much employed in Lancashire after the Restoration. The Girlingtons seem to have been all royalists. Anthony Girlington fell at Lancaster, and Thomas Girlington in another place, but both on the same side; and after the Restoration Lancelot Girlington petitioned to be appointed crier and keeper at Hicks Hall, stating that his parents had been ruined by their loyalty. (*Peet MS.*; *Black Trib.*, 335, 368; and Greene's *Calendar of State Papers*).

(III.) Sir Gilbert Hoghton of Hoghton Tower, the second baronet of his ancient house and name. He succeeded Sir John Girlington as high sheriff in 1643. He had been knighted as early as 1606, and he sat as M.P. for the county of Lancaster in the Parliaments of 1614, 1620, 1625, and the first Parliament of 1640. He lost a son and a brother in the service of the king, and his daughter Margaret married the royalist Alexander Rigby; but his eldest son sided with the Parliament. He was advanced in years at the breaking out of the Civil wars, and he died in April 1647.

(IV.) Sir Alexander Radcliffe of Ordsall, K.B. Sir Alexander was one of the commissioners of array, and in that character attended the meeting at Preston on 20th June 1642. A few days afterwards he attempted to seize the magazine at Manchester. Parliament removed him from the commission of the peace, and afterwards committed him to the Tower for assisting to put in force the commission of array and abetting the proceedings of Lord Strange. He died in April 1654. (*C. W. T.* 350, 368.)

(V.) Sir Gilbert Gerard, knight and colonel. According to Mr. Ormerod (*C. W. T.* 344) he was a younger brother of Sir Charles Gerard of Halsall. Sir Gilbert became governor of Worcester, and was buried there. In the *Black Tribunal* (353) a Sir Gilbert Gerard

junior is said to have been slain near Ludlow; but this could hardly be the Sir Gilbert of the text if he was the person mentioned by the anonymous commentator on the siege of Lathom as a veteran soldier, retained by Lord Strange to train and discipline his new levies; neither could this latter be the younger brother of Sir William Gerard of Bryn, who would be too young for such an office. The same commentator informs us that there were at least six of Sir Gilbert's name and title engaged at this time on the king's side, while Sir Gilbert Gerard of Flambards near Harrow was a colonel in the service of the Parliament; and another Gerard, without a title, had the rank of lieutenant-colonel in Colonel Croxton's regiment on the same side. One of the Cheshire Sir Gilberts, who was slain very early in the Civil wars either at Worcester or Gloucester, was buried with this epitaph on his grave: "Obiit invitâ patriâ." Another Gerard, styled by the Parment writers "Sir" Gilbert Gerard and by Clarendon "Mr." was in reality Colonel John Gerard the third son of Sir Charles Gerard of Halsall by an ill-omened marriage with Penelope, second daughter of Sir Edward Fitton of Gawsworth. He was brother to Charles first Lord Brandon of Dutton in Cheshire, and he had a brother Sir Gilbert. Of this Colonel Gerard, who was beheaded on Tower Hill on a charge of conspiracy in 1654, there is a long account in the *Black Tribunal* (256, 271).

(VI.) Master, afterwards the celebrated Sir Thomas Tildesley, of Myerscough, was made a brigadier, and knighted for his services at the storming of the bridge at Burton. On the 18th September 1644 he was taken prisoner in the battle of Montgomery. In 1645 he was governor of Litchfield, and surrendered that place on articles on 16th July 1646. In the latter year he is said to have been also governor of Worcester. Of this gallant commander, who fell in the battle of Wigan Lane on 25th August 1651, Mr. Baines has given a portrait and a memoir. (*H. Lancashire*, ii. 312; *C. W. T.* 214, 296, 307.)

(VII.) Master Ralph Standish of Standish.

(VIII.) Master Thomas Prestwich of Hulme, near Manchester, who was made one of the commissioners of array in 1642 and created a baronet in 1644. In 1648 he assisted Sir Marmaduke Langdale in settling the terms on which the English would co-operate with the Scots under the Duke of Hamilton, and became bound in 800*l.* to

provide four hundred pairs of pistols. (*Lancashire and Cheshire Wills, C. S.* iii. 103; *Notes and Queries*, Feb. 20, 1864, 152; and Greene's *Calendar of State Papers.*)

(IX.) Master Windebank. The secretary of this name had fled to France before this time, but this person might be his son. In the account of the siege of Manchester he appears as the person sent to summon the town. After the Restoration a John Windebank petitioned to be restored to the place of usher of the privy chamber, to which he had been appointed after the death of his brother. (Greene's *Calendar of State Papers.*)

(X.) Sergeant-Major Danvers. If he were the same person as Colonel Danvers, who afterwards bore arms for the Parliament, he must have been amongst the few who changed sides in the Civil war. If so, and if he were the same person who wrote the dispatch from Warrington, signed "H. D." on the 15th August 1651, he must have had very different feelings on his second visit from those of his first visit to that place. (*Parliamentary History*, xx. 12, 15.)

(XI.) Sergeant-Major Sanders.

(XII.) Master John Downes of Wardley. (*C. W. T.* 342.)

(XIII.) Master Charles Towneley of Towneley, killed at Marston Moor and buried on the field 2nd July 1644. (*H. Whalley*, 344; *Black Tribunal*, 369.)

(XIV.) Master Ashton of Penketh, elsewhere called Captain Ashton, and supposed to be John the son of Thomas Ashton, who fell in the first attack on Bolton 16th February 1643. (*C. W. T.* 83.) In the *Black Tribunal* (365) he is called Gilbert Ashton.

(XV). Master, afterwards Captain Henry Ogle of Whiston, one of the defenders of Lathom. In the first sally made from the house he commanded the rear-guard, and for his gallantry on that and other occasions was greatly commended. He was made prisoner at the battle of Edge Hill, and he died near Prescot and was buried there. (*H. Siege of Lathom, passim; H. Lancashire*, iii. 718, 719.)

(XVI.) Master Byrom of Byrom rose to be a major of foot, and was killed in the fight at Keynton Field 23rd October 1642. Other accounts say that he was killed at Manchester. (*C. W. T.* 47; *H. Lancashire*, iii. 635.) The same, or some other Henry Byrom, is often mentioned in the *Houghton Papers;* and there was a Major John

Byrom of Salford who was very active after the Restoration. (*Peet MS.*)

(XVII.) Master Roger Nowell of Read, born 1605. He was first a captain and afterwards a colonel. He was one of the defenders of Lathom, and he died in 1695. (*Lancashire Lieutenancy, C. S.* 285; *Sieges and Battles*, 158.)

(XVIII.) Master Thomas Standish, eldest son and heir-apparent of Thomas Standish of Duxbury, killed at the siege of Manchester about 26th September 1642. (*C. W. T.* 46, 55.)

(XIX.) Master Charnock of Charnock and Astley, afterwards Captain Charnock, and one of the defenders of Lathom who ultimately fell in the king's cause. (*Black Tribunal*, 367; *Sieges and Battles*, 135, 158.) John Charnock, one of his ancestors, was attainted in 29 Elizabeth. (*Statutes at large.*)

(XX.) Master William Ffarington of Worden, who was from the first a very active royalist. He was provost-marshal to Lord Strange when the powder and match were bought at Warrington to store the magazine at Liverpool in 1640, as already mentioned. He had been a colonel of militia before the breaking out of the Civil war, and on the 11th June 1642 he was made a commissioner of array. He was afterwards made one of the collectors of the subsidy and a keeper of the magazines. On the 9th February 1643 he was taken prisoner in the assault upon Preston, and on the 12th September 1643 he had all his goods sequestered by the Parliament. He served at Lathom House during both the sieges, and laid down his arms after the final surrender of that place. In July 1646 he was thrown into prison, where he remained until the following May. He was twice compelled to compound for his estates, and he died in April 1658. (*Ffarington Papers, C. S. passim; C. W. T.* 75, 363.)

(XXI.) Master Robert Holt of Ashworth, in the parish of Middleton, one of Lord Strange's proposed collectors of the subsidy and keepers of the magazines. (*C. W. T.* 363.)

(XXII.) Master Edward Rawstorne of Newhall in Tottington. He was sheriff of Lancashire in 1629, and on the 25th February 1633 he was called to the bar by the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn. At the breaking out of the civil war he was made a commissioner of array. He afterwards became a captain in the king's service, and in 1644 he

was made by Prince Rupert colonel of a regiment of foot. He was governor of Lathom House in its last siege, and surrendered it to the Parliament on the 2nd December 1645. (*C. W. T.* 368.) On the 3rd June 1662, in consequence of some slanders uttered against him and the Lord Delamere, the Earl of Derby, the then lord lieutenant of Lancashire, made a public declaration of his entire disbelief of them, and declared that in the worst times of the late rebellion Colonel Rawstorne had always been esteemed a true and loyal subject of the king. (*Peet MS.*)

(xxiii.) Master Edward Tarbuck of Tarbuck, captain of the Isle of Man. He was possibly a son of that Sir Edward Tarbuck who was knighted at Whitehall on the 1st November 1606. (*C. W. T.* 353, 370; *H. Lancashire*, iii. 479, iv. 8, 9, 10.)

(xxiv.) Master Montague. There were two Montagues, Edward and George, in Parliament, who both took the covenant in 1642, and there was a Colonel Montague, who was afterwards an active partisan of the other side (Oldmixon, *H. England*, ii. 296), but he was probably of the house of Manchester, and swayed to that side by his family leanings. The editor has failed to identify the Montague who marched with the army from Warrington.

(xxv.) Master Francis Legh of Lyme and Bruche. He was one of the commissioners of array, and died the 2nd February 1643. (*Ibid.* 209.)

These were some of the principal leaders of the force now assembled at Warrington, which is said to have consisted of four thousand foot, two hundred dragoons and one hundred light horse, with seven pieces of artillery; but its strength was probably over-rated. The Parliamentary accounts state that some of the common soldiers complained that they had been summoned to Warrington to meet the king and not to march against Manchester; and the plot of the Amounderness men to shoot Lord Strange, and the allusion to some such design in the *Proceedings of the Lieutenancy*, are an evidence that there existed some dissatisfaction. (*Efarington Papers*, *C. S.* 87; *Lancashire Lieutenancy*, *C. S.* 279.) Here as afterwards at Edge Hill, where a like accident contributed to the ill fortune of the day, one or more of the gun carriages having broken down during the march, delayed for a time the advance of the army. (*H. Collegiate Church of Manchester*, 205.) On the march

the troops divided: one part, under the immediate command of Lord Strange, passing through Cheshire and taking up a position near Alport Lodge, a house of Sir Edward Moseley's, on the south side of Manchester; and the other proceeding by the opposite bank of the Mersey, and passing a stream then much swollen with rain, which was possibly the occasion of the accident to the artillery, took up its position in the suburb of Salford which still adhered to the king. (*Ibid.* 205, 206.)

NOTE 9. Sir Edward Moseley's, of the Alport Lodge, which stood somewhere between St. Matthew's church and Deansgate. It was burnt down during the attack on Manchester, and never rebuilt afterwards. Its owner was taken prisoner in Middlewich church after the battle at that place, on the 13th March 1643, and only regained his liberty on giving a solemn promise not again to bear arms against the Parliament. He died in December 1657.

NOTE 10. Lord Strange's father died at his house in Chester on the 29th September 1642, an event which happening at this juncture may have influenced his son, now become Earl of Derby, to raise the siege of Manchester. Had his lordship known that Colonels Holland and Egerton and Captain Booth were at this time counselling the town to surrender, it might have altered his determination and have changed the whole course of the war. (*Lancashire Lieutenancy, C. S.* 274, *note.*)

NOTE 11. On the 26th September, while the siege was still proceeding, Colonel Holland and others of his party addressed a letter to Colonel Richard Shuttleworth and John Starkie, earnestly imploring from them a supply of powder and match. This was doubtless one of the wants which made Colonel Holland counsel a surrender. (*Lancashire Lieutenancy, C. S.* 272.) The situation of Manchester must also have been felt by the Parliament to be critical at this time, for by an order of the 3rd October they directed the London committee to send a levy of dragoons into Lancashire with all possible dispatch. (Palmer's *Siege of Manchester*, 39.)

NOTE 12. William Bourne B.D., fellow of the Collegiate church of Manchester, was a zealous and influential preacher, and — although

introduced into the Collegiate church by Chaderton in the year 1591, and long a friend of Dr. Perkins and Dr. W. Whitaker, the Cambridge divines — he seems to have been in almost all respects a presbyterian in his views of Church government and opposed to every thing strictly episcopalian. He was the John Knox of Manchester, and assumed the bold tone and manner of that inexorable reformer. Hollinworth has given a vivid description of his proceedings, regular and irregular. He died the senior fellow, and was buried at the Collegiate church the 26th August 1643. His wife was a kinswoman of the Cecils, Lords Burghley. (*Fasti Mancun., a MS., abridged.*)

Note 13. Radcliffe Hall, a quaint old mansion of wood and plaster, in Pool Fold, with picturesque projecting chimneys and gables, was the house of Captain, afterwards Sergeant-major, Richard Radcliffe, one of the defenders of Manchester, and afterwards M.P. for that place. (*C. W. T.* 351; *Lancashire Lieutenancy, C. S.* 300.)

Note 14. Captain Robert Bradshaw, a younger brother of John Bradshaw of Bradshaw. At the siege of Manchester, where he commanded the Assheton tenantry, he had the charge of Deansgate, and resisted Colonel Holland's proposal to surrender the town. It is told as one of the marvels of the siege that a cannon ball came so near him that it touched his arm but did not hurt him. (*C. W. T.* 340, 357; *Sieges and Battles*, 77.)

Note 15. Captain Robert Venables, a member of an ancient Cheshire house, which dates from the Conquest, at the breaking out of the Civil wars was settled at Antrobus in that county. In the battle on Westhoughton common, on the 16th December 1642, he was made prisoner, but he must have been soon released, for on the 18th July following, when Sir William Brereton came against Chester with nine troops of horse and ten companies of foot Captain Venables commanded one of the latter. In 1644 he is called Colonel and said to be governor of Chester; but this must be a mistake, as that city was then a royalist garrison. In 1645 he was governor of Tarvin, and in a paper amongst the Harleian *MSS.*, partly in his hand writing, he has left an account of his other services in Cheshire, and an account of his arrears of pay

from 1643 to 1646. In May 1648 he seems to have been employed in bringing the Welsh into subjection (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, i. 346); and the following hitherto inedited letter to Captain Crowther, Vice Admiral of the Irish seas, his comrade in arms while engaged in that service, and which is still preserved at Wincham in Cheshire, supplies an addition to the series of Cromwell's letters, and gives us the great general's "whereabouts" at that time:

S^r^ I received both y^rs^ this morning and cannot but acknowledge your greate forwardness to serve the publique. I have here inclosed sent you an order for the takeing up of vessells for the transporting of soldiers and the ooates of the horses. My men shal be at the water side tomorrow. If they can provide victualls they shall. If not I shall give you notice that wee may bring it out of y^r^ vessells.

S^r^

Cardif — I remayne

May y^e^ 16^th^ — Y'r very humble servant

1648. — Oliver Cromwell.

In 1649 when the regiments were allotted for Ireland the lot fell on Col. Venables's regiment, and he was made commander-in-chief of the forces in Ulster and governor of Belfast, Antrim, and Lisnegarvey. Landing in Ireland on the 22nd July he was engaged in the battle fought near Dublin on the 2nd August, when the Irish generals, Lord Ormond and Lord Inchiquin, were put to flight and thousands of their forces slain. About the 20th October in that year he routed a force of eight hundred horse, which had been sent against him by the Earl of Ormond. (*Cromwelliana*, 65.) He returned from Ireland on the 22nd April 1654, and on the 7th December following there issued a privy seal granting a sum of 1000*l.* to him and Colonel Heane, which was no doubt in recompence of their services in Ireland, where Colonel Venables had also acted as a commissioner for reporting on the government of that kingdom. (*Appendix to Fourth Report on Public Records*, 180.) In 1655, when the fleet under Penn sailed for the West Indies, the command of the land forces was committed to Colonel Venables, with the rank of general. The combined forces attacked and took Jamaica, which has ever since remained a possession of the British crown, but after an unsuccessful attack on Hispaniola on the 26th April following the two commanders quarrelled, and having returned home separately brought the news of their own disaster, upon which Cromwell sent them both to the Tower on the

charge of quitting their post without orders. General Venables's manuscript account of the expedition with the musters of the army is preserved in the house of his family at Wincham. His wife in her Journal, after saying that her husband's heart was right and that he had the glory of God for his aim, says thus of the expedition: "The success was ill — for the work of God was not like to be done by the devil's instruments. A wicked army it was, and sent out without arms or provisions." (Hume's *H. England*, vii. 254-5; Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ii. 65, 66; and Oldmixon's *H. England*, ii. 428.) In August 1659 Colonel Venables favoured Sir George Booth's rising, and lay ready to seize upon Chester for the king. In March following he was entrusted by General Monk with the government of Chester Castle, and on 22nd April 1660, Chancellor Hyde thus writes of him from Breda: "I am very glad that Colonel Venables is governor of Chester, of whose affections the king has not the least doubt, yet I have thought to ask you a question concerning him long, whether he be of the Independent party in point of religion, which I have heard confidently averred by some who have great kindness for him, and assurance of his affection to the king and together with that a great opinion of his parts and understanding which methinks should hardly consist with the other." (*Dr. Barwick's Life.*) After the Restoration, if the design had not been hindered, the king at the instance of his friend Dr. John Barwick would have bestowed upon him some mark of his royal favour. In 1662, soon after which he bought Wincham, where his family are still settled, he published the first edition of his *Experienced Angler*, a book held in high estimation by all lovers of angling, which before 1668 had reached a third edition, and has been frequently reprinted since. The first edition is prefaced by a commendatory letter from good old Isaac Walton, who did not know the author personally, and by a copy of verses signed T. W. Prefixed to an edition of this work in 1827 a long contemporary account is given of the disasters at Hispaniola and their causes, and also of the death of Venables's old fellow soldier Heane, then a major-general, who was killed there. In 1664 Colonel Venables, whose religious views inclined to the Independents, was denounced to the government, probably without reason, as having secretly promoted the rising in Yorkshire, commonly known as the Farnley Wood plot. Colonel Venables mar-

ried first Elizabeth Rudyard, and secondly Elizabeth widow of Thomas Lee of Darnhall and daughter of Samuel Aldersey Esq., and he died in July 1687, at the age of 75. (*Notes and Queries*. Feb. 6th 1864, p. 120.) There is a good portrait of Colonel Venables in the house at Wincham. The *Black Tribunal* (363) mentions a royalist officer, Serjeant-major Daeres, as having been killed at Westoughton in the battle where Captain Venables was made prisoner.

Note 16. See *note* 13 *ante*.

Note 17. Ralph Assheton, of Middleton, near Manchester, was elected M.P. for Lancashire in the two Parliaments of 1640, and was one of those who took the covenant in 1642. When the Parliament took upon them to supersede a number of the former justices of the peace, they appointed him one of the new justices. He was first a colonel, then a general, and finally the commander-in-chief of all the Parliament forces in Lancashire. He died on the 17th February 1652, aged 45, and an epitaph to his memory in Middleton Church records his public services at length. He must be distinguished from his namesake of both his names, Sir Ralph Assheton of Whalley, baronet, who died in October 1644, as well as from Ralph Assheton son of the latter, who was M.P. for Clitheroe in the two Parliaments of 1625 and the two Parliaments of 1640, and also from Ralph Assheton son of Nicholas Assheton of Downham, who was appointed by Parliament a deputy-lieutenant and sequestrator of delinquents' estates, and who died in 1643. Except the Chadderton branch all the Asshetons seem to have been on the Parliament side, but towards the close of the troubles Sir Ralph Assheton's son Ralph, then himself become a baronet, accepted the king's gracious act of indemnity at Breda, and after the Restoration was made lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of foot. He died 30th January 1680. (*H. Whalley*, 243, 299, 300, 317; *Assheton's Journal, C. S. pref.* vi.; *C. W. T.* 337–8 and 356; *H. Lancashire* ii. 59.)

Note 18. Colonel Richard Holland of Denton was made a justice of peace by the Parliament when so many of the justices were superseded for their royalist leanings. He was governor of Manchester for the Parliament, and Rosworm charged him with shewing some want of

courage during the attack upon Warrington. "Alas!" he exclaims, "who can settle a trembling heart?" He was afterwards tried on this charge, and though he was acquitted it was thought that he was indebted for his escape to the influence of some powerful friends. (*Lancashire Lieutenancy*, *C. S.* 274.) In the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656 he was M.P. for Lancashire (*H. Lancashire*, vol. i. 319), and his death in 1661 is thus noticed in a contemporary obituary:

> Colonel Holland left an estate of 800*l.* a year, and was heired by a younger brother of the age of sixty. His brother, who had never been married before, found out a suitable gentlewoman, one Mrs. Britland, and their day of marriage was fixed. But before the day arrived he fell sick and died, and the funeral happening on the same day that had been fixed for the marriage, the minister at the funeral preached from the same text that had been selected for the marriage, only substituting "There was a cry made" for the words "Behold the bridegroom cometh." (*Matt.* xxv. 6.)

A memoir of Colonel Holland is given by Mr. Booker. (*Denton Chapelry*, *C. S.* xxxvii. 16.)

Note 19. Colonel Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe Hall, born in 1587 was sheriff of Lancashire in 1618, and M.P. for Preston in 1640. He took the covenant in 1642, and on the breaking out of the Civil war he was enjoined to see the ordinance for the militia put in force. In 1646 he was elected a lay elder of the third Lancashire Presbyterian classis. He was a magistrate and a sequestator of delinquents' estates, and in 1653 he was made one of the judges for the relief of creditors and poor prisoners in the county of Lancaster. He died in 1669. (*Assheton's Journal*, *C. S.* 85, in notes; *Lancashire Lieutenancy*, *C. S.*; *Scobel's Acts*; and the *Shuttleworth Accounts*, *C. S. passim.*) A good portrait of Colonel Richard Shuttleworth is preserved in the Hall at Gawthorpe.

Note 20. Colonel John Moore, head of the house of Moore of Bank Hall near Liverpool, was of a very ancient family, who had large possessions there. In the second Parliament of 1640, he was elected M.P. for Liverpool. Upon the general displacing of the king's party, at the beginning of the Civil war, the Parliament made him a deputy lieutenant. On the rupture of the king with the Parliament, he secured for his party the castle and the tower of Liverpool, both of which were reported to be of considerable strength. When the town

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was attacked by Prince Rupert Colonel Moore was the governor, and when he gave it up he was assailed with reproaches for surrendering it so easily. (*H. Lancashire*, vol. ii. 31.) After the siege of Lathom he seems to have taken service in Ireland, and to have left his lucrative appointments in connexion with Lord Derby's estates to be executed by deputy. He sat as one of the judges on the king's trial, and signed the warrant for his execution. He afterwards commanded Cromwell's guards, and had for some time the benefit of all passes granted out of London. He died in 1650, and so escaped being tried with the other regicides after the Restoration, and no proceedings seem to have been taken against his heirs. Martindale, who was one of his party and lived in his house and ought to be no prejudiced witness, thus speaks of Colonel Moore's family:

> It was such a hell upon earth as was utterly intollerable. There was such a pack of arrant thieves and they so artificial at their trade, that it was scarce possible to save anything out of their hands except what I could carry about with me or lodge in some other house. Those that were not thieves (if there were any such) were generally if not universally profane and bitter scoffers at piety. (Martindale's *Autobiography*, *C. S.* 37.)

Note 21. Colonel Peter Egerton of the Shaw in Flixton served the office of sheriff of Lancashire in 1641. On the breaking out of the Civil war the Parliament made him a justice of the peace, and afterwards a sequestrator of delinquents' estates. (*C. W. T. passim*; *H. Lancashire*, vol. ii. 34.) Colonel Egerton, who was connected with the Cheshire Egertons of Ridley, was supervisor of the will of Dame Dorothy Legh, a member of that house. (*Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, *C. S.* vol. iii. 201.) At the first siege of Lathom House, Rutter says, he was present and commanded as general. Newcome thus notices his sad death:

> Col. Egerton of the Shaw who for some distemperature that he had used to take flower of brimstone, sent his maid into his closet who mingled it with some milk, after which he drank it, and it proving by a woeful mistake to be mercury, he died of the draught within a few hours. (Newcome's *Autobiography*, *C. S.* i. 79.)

Note 22. Organs were accounted heretical, and held in much abomination at this time. Sir John Lambe was brought on his knees before Parliament for levying money to set up one. (Oldmixon, ii

160.) Fuller reports that it was said of Bishop Barnaby Potter in the time of Charles I. that organs would have blown him out of church; and one writer says:

A providence much to be observed in the siege at Warrington was this: At night our men went to work within half-musket shot of the town. It was so great a calme that they could not worke but the enemy would hear them. When some went to work others went to pray, and God raised a great winde that tooke away the noise, a providence not altogether unlike what I have heard in Boston. The chancellor gave organs to Boston. Before they breathe in that new world the well-affected pray. After their prayers a mighty winde forceth its passage into the church, blows down the organs, brake them and stopt their breath. (*C. W. T.* 138.)

After the Restoration Thomas Jordan, the city laureate, in his *Royal Arbour of Loyall Poesie*, sang thus:

They set up Cromwell and his heir,
The lord and lady Claypole,
Because they hated Common Prayer,
The organ and the maypole.

Sir Peter Leycester, writing in 1666, tells us that in the church of Great Budworth there is yet the case of a fair organ having the coats of arms of Warburton of Arley, Leicester of Tabley, and Merbury of Merbury carved thereon, which, according to tradition, came from Norton at the dissolution, and was in good order till its pipes were taken out and spoiled in the late war by the Parliament soldiers who called them "whistles in a box." But the ban at Boston is now removed, and the taste for organs there has grown in intensity by repression, for whilst this note was in the press the following announcement appeared in the *Athenæum* of November 21st 1863:

A new grand organ has just been inaugurated in the Music Hall at Boston. The instrument has been built by Herr Walker (of Ludwigsburgh in Würtemberg) after seven years' constant labour and a cost of 10,000*l*. This immense instrument, probably second only in size to the organ at Ulm, is doubtless the most perfect in the world, the art of organ building having been taxed to its uttermost to provide every thing that science and ingenuity can devise for giving it strength, dignity and beauty. It contains eighty-nine full registers speaking by five thousand four hundred and seventy-four pipes, rising above the foundation of a thirty-two foot double diapason, four manual keyboards of fifty-eight keys in each, and a pedal board of thirty keys. Besides these there are some scores of mechanical stops, couplers and tremulants. The wind is supplied by huge bellows of automatic regulation, put in motion by an hydraulic engine, which is under the control of the organist. The case, which is most rich and elaborate, has

been erected at a cost nearly of 3,000*l*. The organ was opened with a performance of selections from the masters of sacred and classic music, Bach, Handel, Palestrina, Purcell and Mendelsohn; and the most eminent organists of Boston, Messrs. Long and Paine, Wilcox, and Dr. Tuckerman, assisted by Mr. Thayer of Worcester and Mr. G. W. Morgan of New York, took part in the performance. Besides the music was a dedicatory ode, composed by a lady of Boston, and recited by Miss C. Cushman, who stayed for that purpose in her route through Boston to Rome.

NOTE 23. The record of the services of this soldier of fortune, the Dugald Dalgetty of his day, will be found in the *Civil War Tracts passim*, and more especially in his own statement "Good service hitherto ill-rewarded," of which this would be the appropriate text:

There was a little city, and few men within it; and there came a great king against it, and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it: Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city; yet no man remembered that same poor man. (*Ecclesiastes* ix. 14, 15.)

NOTE 24. In those disturbed times actions of this kind were so common that, even from a serious person like our author, they met with no reprobation. Violence was not confined to one, but committed by both parties. It was about this time that Colonel Robert Duckenfield with a party of soldiers is said to have entered the house of Mr. Wright parson of Wilmslow, an old man of eighty and a person of honest life and conversation, eminent for his hospitality, and to have seriously ill-treated him for no other crime than his loyalty. (*H. Cheshire.*) Others, of whom Mr. Davenport was one, suffered ill-usage at the hand of both parties. On New Year's day 1643 Captains Sankey and Francis Dukinfield with two or three troops came to Bramhall, and took away twenty of his horses, with his fowling piece, drum and other things. In May 1644 Captain Stanley took Mr. Davenport's mare from him at Widford, and leaving him to return home on foot shortly afterwards returned and quartered himself upon him. Next day the captain was followed by Prince Rupert of the other side, who took from his house at Milesend more than a hundred pounds in linen and other goods, besides rifling and pulling the house in pieces. His loss by the prince and Lord Goring's army was eight horses, a store of victuals and provisions and three score bushels of oats. The prince had no sooner gone but Lely, Stanley's cornet, with twenty men returned, and, not

regarding the quarter they had had before, plundered him of the eight horses which the prince had left, and finally he was summoned before sequestrators for delinquency. (*Ibid.* iii. 401.)

NOTE 25. After this, we are less surprised to find Colonel Richard Holland and others writing to Colonel Richard Shuttleworth the letter mentioned on page 96, *note* 11 *ante*.

NOTE 26. So many persons of the same name were engaged, either on the same or on opposite sides in the Civil war, that it is not always easy to identify them. Roger Haddock of Bryning was a sergeant on the king's side, but there was another person of his name at Chorley, a lay-elder of the sixth Lancashire Presbyterian classis, who had his head broken for shewing a messenger the way to Lord Strange's quarters. (*C. W. T.* 23; *H. Lancashire*, ii. 40.) There is great confusion in identifying the several Rigbys, Asshetons, Gerards, Birches and others who occur in the history of that time. Some of the Mosleys also are found on both sides.

NOTE 27. In "*Rome's Masterpiece, or the Grand Conspiracy of the Pope and his Jesuited Instruments*," printed by order of the House about August 1643, there is a letter of Andreas Habernfeld chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia, written to Sir William Bothwell, in which he informs him that an Indian nut stuffed with the most sharp poison was kept by the Society of Jesus, and that Cuneus or Cox, the pope's nuncio in England, had often in a boasting manner shewn him such a nut and told him that in it there was a poison prepared for the king,—the marginal note upon which says: "The Jesuits know very well that King James was poisoned by some of their instruments;" which throws discredit on the whole story. (pp. 18, 19.) But poisoning was so common in that age that, when Prince Henry died, there was a post mortem examination to satisfy the public that his death was not caused by it.

NOTE 28. The career of these two officers was very short. Captain Nicholas Starkie, son of John Starkie esquire of Huntroyd, perished in the explosion at Hoghton Tower on the 14th February 1643; and

Captain John Braddyll, the son of John Braddyll esquire of Portfield, whilst serving at the siege of Sir William Leslie's house at Thornton in Craven in July 1643, was wounded, like Hampden, in the shoulder, and dying of the effects soon after, was buried at Whalley on the 27th of the same month. His father had been made a justice of peace on the 24th October 1642, and on the 1st April following a commissioner for punishing scandalous ministers and others. (*H. Whalley*, 244, 266; *Assheton's Journal, C. S.* 85, in notes; *C. W. T.* 60, 80, 90, 339, 352.)

NOTE 29. This comparison of Warrington with Wigan, to the disparagement of the latter, is at variance with another account in which the writer, with more spleen than piety, arraigns the providence that had given them Wigan which was *strong*, and denied them Warrington which was *weak*.

NOTE 30. The high sheriff at this time was the Sir John Girlington already mentioned. See p. 90 *ante*.

NOTE 31. Alexander Rigby of the Burgh in Standish, and of Layton-with-Warbreck, now the site of the favourite watering-place of Blackpool, was an active royalist who must be distinguished from some others of both his names, several of whom were on the opposite side. Parliament removed him from the commission of the peace and deprived him of his office of clerk of the crown in Lancashire for delinquency. He designed and set on foot the plan for raising the Cartmel and Furness men in the royal cause, and Lord Derby made him a collector of the subsidy. He was a patron of the muses, and Richard Braithwaite, one of the first amongst our minor poets, dedicated to him his *Two Lancashire Lovers*, styling him "his truly generous and judicious friend." (*Efarington Papers, C. S.* 7, *note*.)

NOTE 32. See *note* 30 *ante*.

NOTE 33. Adam Morte, the so-called mayor of Preston, was of the Mortes of Tyldesley and Dam-house. He married Elizabeth the daughter of Sir Thomas Tyldesley of Orford knight, attorney-general for Lancashire (not the gallant soldier, the friend of Lord Derby),

and had a son of both his names. The father and son both fell on the king's side at the storming of Preston on the 13th December 1642. The chivalrous father was mortally wounded in an attack upon Captain Holland's company, one of whom he killed at push of pike; and his son died gallantly fighting at his side. From a note in the *History of Lancashire* it appears that Adam Morte, though elected to the office of mayor, had declined to serve and had paid the fine, and if so, he was not actually mayor at the time of the storming of Preston. (*H. Lancashire*, iv. 313; *C. W. T.* 349.) Vicars says the town of Preston at the time of the attack was well fortified with brick walls both outer and inner, and that the garrison defended it bravely.

NOTE 34. Captain Henry Ogle. See p. 93 *ante*.

NOTE 35. See p. 91 *ante*.

NOTE 36. See p. 94 *ante*.

NOTE 37. But soldiers *then*, like some workmen *now*, contrived, as Hudibras tells us, to spin the week out into more days than seven, as

> Men venture lives to gain a fortune;
> The soldier does it every day,
> *Eight* to the *week*, for sixpence pay.

At a later period, when their service was less needed and this and some other practices had been done away with, a preacher of that day thus inveighs against the change:

> There are two trades in the land without which the realm cannot stand, the king's soldiers and the Lord's soldiers, but both are handled so ill, that, from the merchant to the porter, no callings are so contemned, despised and derided, for their living is turned into an alms, and they may beg for their living.

A modern poet has given utterance to the notions of this divine in rhyme:

> Our God and soldier we alike adore,
> Ev'n at the brink of ruin, not before;
> After deliv'rance both alike requited,
> Our God's forgotten, and our soldier's slighted.

NOTE 38. See p. 92 *ante*.

NOTE 39. The Manchester troops employed on this occasion called it "going on foreign service." (*Manchester Recorder*, 19.)

NOTE 40. This person, it is thought, was Captain Robert Bradshaw, one of the defenders of Manchester. (*C. W. T.* 357.)

NOTE 41. Bryan Burton is not mentioned in either the *History of Lancashire*, the *Civil War Tracts*, or the *Royal Army List*; nor does it appear who he was or where he lived.

NOTE 42. As to Colonel Shuttleworth, see *note* 19 *ante*.

NOTE 43. Colonel John Starkie of Huntroyd. He was high sheriff of Lancashire 9 Charles I. See *note* 11 *ante*.

NOTE 44. As our author relates it, the incident has a ridiculous air; but some of his more serious companions would have made a miracle of it.

NOTE 45. Fading traces of these entrenchments or of the besiegers' approaches are still discernible in the Parson's Meadow. (See the *Map of Wigan*.)

NOTE 46. Sir John Seaton's employment originated in a resolution of the House of the 29th September 1642. In another resolution of the 3rd October, by a strange misnomer, he is called Sir Edward Ceton. (*C. W. T.* 41, 57.) He seems to have been a Scotchman who had seen service under Gustavus Adolphus, and he arrived in Manchester under his new commission on the 1st January 1643. (*Chetham Miscellanies*, iii; *Sir John Seaton's Letter*; and the *Introduction*.)

NOTE 47. Like Sir John Seaton, Major or Sergeant-Major Sparrow was a soldier of fortune. John Tilsley says that if Seaton had had his meek spirit and smooth tongue he had been peerless. (*C. W. T.* 73, 74.) Was he the same person as Thomas Sparrow who was a lieutenant in Colonel Grantham's regiment in 1642? (*Army List*, 39.)

NOTE 48. At this time the House of Correction in Preston stood at

the west end of the town and was part of what was once the Grey Friary. The site is shewn in a view of the town engraved in 1728.

Note 49. Every story has its opposite; and that which is here told of Sir Gilbert is a contrast to what Cowley tells of a gentleman in these Civil wars who, when his quarters had been beaten up by the enemy, and himself made prisoner, being resolved either to escape like a person of quality or not at all, afterwards lost his life in consequence of staying to put on his band and adjust his periwig, and thus died the noble martyr of ceremony and gentility. At the time of this storming, which took place on the 9th February 1643, Preston was fortified by a double brick wall. (*H. Richmondshire*, ii. 429.) That Sir Gilbert Hoghton escaped from Preston to Wigan at this time is confirmed by the following precept issued the next day, and signed by him as high sheriff and by Colonel Blair as governor of Wigan, and which is now with the *Houghton Papers*:

Lancashire to wit. These are in his Mat^ties^ name straitly to chardge and command you that immed^y^ on receipte hereof you geeve sumons and warninge to all the able men betweene the age of sixteene and threescore yeares within yo^r^ towneship and constablery that they (armed and furnished w^th^ theire and every of theire beste and compleateste armes weapons and habiliments of warre and likewise with provision of victuals . . . . .) bee and appeare at the towne of Wigan upon Mondaye nexte beinge the xiii^th^ day of this instante February by eighte of the clock in the afforenoon of the same day then and there to receave such further orders as shall upon his Ma^ties^ behalfe be geeven them in chardge. Requiring and chardging them and every of them upon payne of being esteemed ayders abettors and assistants to the rebells and of being proceeded against as rebells and traitors; not to neglect these service and duty so neerely concerning the welfare and safety of the whole county. And that then also you bringe with you and deliver unto us upon yo^r^ respective oathes a true and p'fecte liste of the names and qualities of all such able men within yo^r^ said townshipe to the end that it may appeare whoe are refractory and that thereupon coarse may be taken w^th^ them accordinge to the natures of their severall contempts and offences, whereof faile you not as you will answer the contrary at yo^r^ uttermoste perills. Geeven under our hands at Wigan the x^th^ day of February A'o R.R. Caroli Angliæ &c. xviii^vo^ 1642[3].

Gilbert Hoghton Vic. Com.
L. Blair.

To the constables of Houghton cū Middleton these.

These names, endorsed upon the back, are probably those of the able men returned:

Richard Dawson.
Henry Sortherne.
Jarvise Winterbottom.
Henry Bate.

This precept must have been accompanied by another ordering the constables to bring in a supply of provisions, for in his accounts the constable of Houghton charges a sum of "viii" for provisions then sent to the town. With Sir Gilbert Hoghton Lord Derby repaired to Wigan, and then probably the camp in the Parson's Meadow on the banks of the Douglas was formed and those strong entrenchments thrown up, of which, according to Mr. Baines, the zig-zag mound, broad ditch and some trenches are still remaining. (*H. Lancashire*, iii. 544.)

Note 50. The author's plain account of this casualty and its causes refutes the charge sometimes made against the royalists of having contrived it. In substance the account does not differ from that given in the *Valley of Achor*, where the author says:

Our men going down to take the tower, found it prepared for entrance and took possession of it, until being burthened with the weight of their swearing, drunkennesse, plundering and wilfull waste at Preston, it dispossessed them by the help of powder, to which their disorders laid a train, fired by their neglected matches or by that great soldier's idoll *tobacco*. However, sure it is that the place so firmly united chose rather to be torn in pieces than to harbour the possessors. O that this thundering alarm might for ever sound in the eares of our swearing, cursing, drunken tobacco-abusing commanders and soldiers unto unfeigned repentance. For do they think that those upon whom the tower fell and slew them were sinners above the rest of the army?

Note 51. This gentleman was a younger son of Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe. (*H. Whalley*, and *Pedigree*, 339.)

Note 52. As to Alexander Rigby of Layton, see *note* 31 *ante*.

Note 53. A better motive may be found for Colonel Richard Shuttleworth's apparent lukewarmness than either cowardice or want of zeal.

Note 54. Colonel Shuttleworth was probably not unwilling that a

number of gentlemen, some of them his own near neighbours and personal friends, should escape from the hands of their enemies.

NOTE 55. The continuance of this name proves how long-lived an ancient name may be. Dr. Hume, noticing a similar place, called "the Hoes" in Cheshire, derives it from the hillocks of sand in which it abounds. (*Ancient Meols*, pp. 6, 387.) "The Hoes" here alluded to, adjoining South Shore on the south, and now known as Layton Common or the Hawes, is the tract of land which lies in the direct line from Lytham Hall to Rossall. The name slightly varied, but referring to the same place, occurs also in the following charter made between A.D. 1227 and 1233:

Om'b's s'ce mat'r's ecel'ie filiis ad quos p'sens sc'ptum p'ven'it Will's Pine'na salt'm in d'no Sciat universitas v'ra me p' salute animæ meæ et om'ium antecessor' meor' dedisse q'etu' clamasse et hâc meâ cartâ p'senti eo'firmasse Deo et beato Cuthberto de Dunelme et monachis Dunelmensib's ap'd Lytham Deo servientib's duas p'tes pasturæ infra les Howes de Lytham &c. (*From the original in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.*)

NOTE 56. The author seems to be of opinion that Major Sparrow acted without judgment, if not with cowardice, on this occasion.

NOTE 57. This sarcasm at Major Sparrow's expence shews that the author would hardly have endorsed Tilsley's character of him. (*Note* 47 *ante.*)

NOTE 58. See Sir John Seaton's letter. (*Chetham Miscellanies*, iii.)

NOTE 59. Elswick, a township in the parish of St. Michael-le-Wyre.

NOTE 60. The editor has failed to identify the owner of these literary treasures, of which one should be glad now to see a catalogue.

NOTE 61. See *note* 51 *ante.*

NOTE 62. This place is not known by this name in Lancaster now.

NOTE 63. See *note* 48 *ante.*

Note 64. The hostlers, like the chamberlain at Gadshill, were in league against their guests.

Note 65. See *note* 17 *ante*.

Note 66. On the 21st October 1642 Lord Derby convened a great meeting at Warrington, where he proposed terms of pacification. Messrs. Shuttleworth and Starkie, although invited, did not attend this meeting, but sent excuses; and from a letter dated the day following it appears that the other leaders rejected the proposed terms. (*Lancashire Lieutenancy*, 282, 290, 298, 299.) One result of this meeting was, that Colonel Richard Shuttleworth wrote to George Rigby of Peel, requesting to be furnished with the names of persons in Warrington on whom he might rely to furnish him with intelligence of the royalists' designs, when Rigby named John Dunbabin, woollen draper, and Mr. Gerrard, mercer. (*Ibid.* 290, 292.) And to this we probably owe the letter of the 26th October 1642, stating that one thousand four hundred men are billeted in different parts, of whom three hundred are at Warrington, at which place, it is added, they force men to pay their own assessments at pleasure to the half of some men's estates, plundering and disarming them if they be denied. (*Ibid.* 303.) The next trace which we have of the military occupation of Warrington is a solitary entry of the burial of a son of Thomas Allarton, a soldier, on the 31st January 1643. The town at this time was defended, as it is now, on the south by its noble river the Mersey, which was then crossed by a bridge of four arches, built by the first Earl of Derby. This bridge had a narrow roadway, and on its centre pier a watch-house, once an oratory, where the Austin friars of Warrington offered up prayers for the departing or returning wayfarer, and which had now by the descendant of the first founder of the bridge been converted to a very different purpose, being made the bed of the warlike engine mentioned by our author. The town on every other side was defended by walls which Burghall says were of mud, and according to our author were furnished with gates. In advance of these, and serving as their outposts, were the earthworks or mounts mentioned by our author, which had been hastily thrown up. One of these, guarding the entrance from the north, was at Longford; another, which flanked and defended the road

by the river on the south, was near Mersey Mills; and of both these some faint traces remain. Of the two others — one situated on the west near Mr. Bridgeman's house at Sankey, and the other situated on the east beyond the church — no vestige now exists. Before the general attack mentioned in the text Captain Ardern of Alwanley and some other captains, hoping to effect a junction with the forces of Sir William Brereton and the troops from Manchester, approached the town and sat down before it. Penetrating their design, however, the Earl of Derby sallied forth to prevent the intended junction, and, attacking the enemy on Stockton Heath on the south of the town before the arrival of the expected forces, put them to a complete rout. It is said that the earl deluded them by a feint, which made them for a time mistake his troops for their own friends. The principal fight took place near an inn now called the Mulberry Tree; and upon the site, which still shews some traces of earthworks, great numbers of soldiers' pipes and other military relics have from time to time been found. But other and more striking records of the day are met with in these entries in the Great Budworth Register:

1643 Ap. 6. *Thomas Frith* de Barnton guardianus qui apud Stockton heath in prælio occisus fuit tertio die mensis Aprilis et sepult. sexto die Aprilis.

Johannes Amerie de Barnton constabularius qui periit eodem die et loco et sepult. sexto die ejusdem Aprilis.

16. *Thomas Yewley* fil. Thomæ Yewley sepult. decimo sexto Aprilis.

20. Thomas Yewley de Aston qui periit de vulneribus acceptis apud Stockton Heath tertio die Aprilis sepult. vicessimo die ejusdem mensis.

22 Ricardus Ridgway de Budworth qui periit apud Stockton heath.

The muse of Great Budworth, after this slaughter of her officials, might have taken up the words of the old ballad:

> Of all the constables and catchpolls
> Alive were scarce left one!

The people of Great Budworth probably owed their forward zeal on this occasion to their active pastor, John Ley, the vicar, afterwards one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, who could hardly have forgotten the recent loss of so many of his flock, when, on being called upon to preach before the House of Commons on the 20th of the same

month, he took for his subject the "Fury of the War and the Folly of Sin."

On the other hand, how welcome the news of this success was to the royal party will appear from the following letter:

To Lord Capel lieut^{t} general to his highness the prince.

Chester ye 5th of Aprill at 12 in ye night.

My Lord, This night late I receaved certayne intelligence y^{t} a freshe they had fell uppon Warrington wth all y^{e} force of Lanchishre and y^{t} S^{r} Brereton and Gell have had such a welcome there y^{t} he dares not shew his face in Namptwich. My Lord if ever we hope to doe anye thinge we must make a shew now, for I know well enoughe what can be expeeted from rawe soldgers rather to offer than attempt any thinge, therefore I humbly desire yo. lo'pp will draw all the force you have towards Whitchurche and let me understande ye condition yo. lo'pp is in and I shall not fayle to contribute my servis uppon all occation as may truly [be] within me

Yo^{r} honor. humble servant

N. Byron.

All ye art I have is to keepe my lord of Derby up wth ye hope of prince Rupert and yo^{r} lo'p's corps conceavinge him sealfe to be put to all extremityes: if I had Coll. Ellis heere and halfe the men Ashton [Aston] lost I would make bould to trye what Namptwyche would do.

After their repulse at Stockton Heath the enemy seem to have deferred the general attack on Warrington until the arrival of Sir William Brereton's troops and the forces from Manchester, with five hundred of Assheton's musketeers, who came flushed with victory from Wigan. When all these had joined the town was regularly invested, and while one body of the forces attacked it on the west, another assaulted it on the east. If we remember this we shall see that the account given in the *Valley of Achor* and that given by Rosworm (in whose story Warrington by mistake is called Bolton) may be reconciled, and so both may be true. The assault at Sankey bridges on the west began by an attack on the house of Mr. Edward Bridgeman, a zealous royalist, who had more than once sat in Parliament as member either for Liverpool or Wigan, and in 1641 sat on the grand committee; and if, as is most probable, Sir William Brereton and his Cheshire forces led the van in this attack, they must have crossed the Mersey to make it, and in that case, the local knowledge of Captain Edward Sankey of Sir William's horse, who was sprung from Sankey and knew it well, would be of great assistance to them. Having secured Mr.

Bridgeman's house and some of the outer walls, the enemy seemed in a fair way to become masters of the town, until the Earl of Derby declaring that he would burn it down before the enemy should have it, set fire to it in the midst, when the attack was given up and the enemy retired; and Rosworm and Holland returned to Manchester "with grief, shame and loss," the former throwing on the latter the whole blame of the failure. (*C. W. T.* 95, 100, 135, 226; *H. Collegiate Church of Manchester*, i. 219.) Smarting under this repulse, the Parliament party were not long in preparing to retrieve it, and but a few weeks elapsed before Colonel Norris the governor issued the following note of warning:

Thees are in his Mat^y's name straitly to charge and command that im^y upon receipt hereof yo^u make diligent search w^hin yo^r constablerie for p'vision of victuals and oates and hay for the armie here and the same forthw^th to bringe or cause to be brought unto this towne of Warrington for releefe of the souldiers and storeinge the same towne in case anie siege be laid thereunto by the enemie and hereof faile not at your p^ll.

Given under my hand this third day of May anno D'ni 1643.

E. Norris.

To the constables of Southworth Middleton Arbury and Croft.
M^d to bringe in noe bread but wheate or meale instead thereof and peas.

An endorsement on this precept shews that it was only received by the constable of Houghton so late as eight o'clock the following evening, whence it would seem to have been kept back and then dispatched in haste. Though late, however, it appears to have been obeyed, for in his accounts the constable has a charge of ix^s vi^d for provisions sent in on this occasion, and of i^s for carts to convey them. On a former occasion the provisions sent in had been charged only viii^s. There was now a lull, but it was only the lull before a storm, for in a few days this precept was followed by another to this effect:

Whereas very lately I directed my warrants to severall parts near adjacent for the calleing in of all the able men unto our ayd, but finding that the Enemy was retraited, was very willing that the said men should return to their owne houses; but nowe so it is that this day I have received intelligence by 3 severall messengers that the enemy intends very speedily to assault us. These are therefore in his Ma'ys name, straitly to charg and commande you, that forthwith, upon receipt hereof, you give notice and warning to all the able men w'thin yo'r severall Constabularies, that are within the age of 60 yeares, and above the age of 16 yeares, that they come unto this towne of

Warrington, with their best armes and p'vision of meat, for 4 dayes, by 9 of the clocke on . . . . . the 15th daye of this instant May, wherein you are not to faile, as you honor his Ma'ty's service, and will answer the contrarie at yo'r utmost p'ille. Given under my hand this 14th day of May, 1643,

E. Norris.

To the Constables of Hulme and Winwick, and-all other the constables w'thin the p'ishe of Winwick, and to every of them greeting. Se you send me an accompt of this warrant.

Endorsed on the back:

Seene and p'used by the Constables of Winwicke and Hulme.

Seene and p'used by the Constables of Newton.

Seene and p'used by the Constables of Haidoke, and speedilye sent away to the Constables of Golborne.

Seene and p'used by the Constables of Goulborn, the 15th day between 3 and 4 of the clocke in the afternoone, and speedily sent to Loton.

Seene and perused by the Constable of Lawton about 7 of ye clocke ye 15 day and sent to Kenion with speede.

Seene and p'used by the Constable of Kenyon.

Seene and p'used by the Constable of Culceth, and sent away.

Seene and p'used by the Constables of Southworth an Croft. and Houghton cū Arbury; and sent away with speed.

The endorsements upon this precept shew that only a single copy of it was sent out, and that this single copy was passed on by a messenger from village to village and from hamlet to hamlet, like Roderick Dhu's fiery cross. But the plot now thickens. On the 18th May it is announced that the gentry of the neighbourhood are bringing their plate and valuables into Warrington, "which was strongly fortified and held by the Earl of Derby for the king," though this was not strictly true, for the earl himself was not there at this time. Two days afterwards Lord Goring, the same who was afterwards Lord Norwich, and was tried with Lord Capel and the Earl of Holland, and only escaped death by the casting vote of the speaker in 1649 (Oldmixon, ii. 378), was defeated with his body of royalists at Wakefield, and the news of this disaster and the dismal terms in which the enemy announced their new design were not calculated to raise the spirits of the garrison of Warrington. "All this while," so rings the descant, "the cry of oppressed Warrington importuned heaven, and compassion wrought in us and having thus far fetched terrifying assistance we entered upon a new voyage on the 20 May." On the following

day the garrison learned that the Manchester troops, under the command of Colonel Assheton, were again approaching the town, and on the 23rd, the enemy having possessed themselves of the mansion of a Roman Catholic gentleman of the neighbourhood (probably Sir William Gerard's of the Bryn), soon afterwards fell in with a party of royalists and drove them for refuge into Winwick church, where they stood on terms of parley. "Meanwhile," says the enemy's quaint chronicler with more seeming than real impiety, "God sent a deadly messenger out of a fowling piece to one of them who was standing on the steeple," and the message brought him down headlong. If, as is probable, he was buried where he fell, the body with an iron bullet imbedded in it, which was found in digging a grave at the foot of the steeple in 1854, was probably the body of this luckless royalist.

From their head quarters the enemy the next day issued the following precept to the constables of Southworth with Croft, the original of which in its now imperfect state is preserved in the Warrington museum:

These are to will and require and immediately to charge and command you that immediately upon the receipt hereof you summon and require all men and others of ability within your townes to come and appear before us at Winwick upon Fryday next being the 26th of May (by the houre ..... of the clocke in the afforenoone to lende and contribute money ..... of Parl^t ..... if they will avoyd ..... of theire estate and securinge of their persons ..... p'voyd and ..... able men furnished with spades and mattocks and 3 days' p'vision of ..... for such service for the ..... as shall be appointed them; and further that you shall gather in and p'voyde victuals for p'vicion of our armes and bring it and the ..... in tomorrow morninge to Bewsey Hall as you will answer the contrary at your uttermost p'rill. Given under our hands this 24th day of May 1643. T[HOMAS] STANLEY, RICHARD [HOLLAND], PETER EGERTON, JOHN HOLCROFTE.

Bewsey Hall, whence this missive issued, and which is about one mile and a half from Warrington, was at this time the house of Margaret Ireland. But by her marriage with her cousin it afterwards became the house of Gilbert Ireland, an active Parliamentary leader, who was employed in various important services. In 1645 he was appointed by Parliament one of the committee of five who were to assess the county. In 1647 he was on the committee to license ministers. In 1648 and 1649 he was high sheriff, and in 1654 and 1656 he was M.P. for the county, and one of those who voted for making Cromwell king. In

1658, 1659, 1660, 1661 and 1670 he was M.P. for Liverpool. In 1659, being then governor of that town, he rose with Sir George Booth and was taken prisoner at Wimmington and sent to Chester Castle. He was knighted after the Restoration, and in 1670 he was mayor of Liverpool. On the 26th of April 1673 he was made a deputy lieutenant, and he died in 1675.

The obedience to the above, or some similar cotemporary precept, appears as usual in these charges in the accounts of the Houghton constable: "Paid for provision to Winwick, ii^{s} viii^{d}," and "For carts to Bewsey hall, i^{s} vi^{d}."

In Burghall's account of the actual taking of Warrington, he says that his party sat down before it on Whitsunday the 21st of May, and played upon it with their ordnance all that week. The garrison behaved bravely, and the place was well defended, but bread and other necessaries failing they came on Saturday to a parley, when it was agreed that the town should be surrendered, and each commander and captain should depart with his horse and pistols, but that the common soldiers should leave their arms behind them. The next day, being Trinity Sunday, Sir George Booth baronet, lord of the manor of Warrington, then in his seventy-seventh year, entered and took possession of the town. Another account says that at the parley Colonel Tildesley proposed to Colonel Assheton that the town should be surrendered to him for the use of the king and Parliament upon quarter, and leave given to the garrison to march away without interruption to Wigan or some other place in the county, taking with them their ordnance, arms and ammunition, but that these terms not being accepted the church and steeple were attacked and carried by assault, and that after both these had fallen Colonel Norris hoisted a flag of defiance on the highest chimney of the town, rallied his forces and continued the fight, but the enemy proved too strong, the rest of the town, like the church and steeple, fell into their hands, and thus rang the victor's *pæan*:

> So good a friend was God to our faith in this siege that the greatest piece of ordnance was made unserviceable the second time it was in use and without the terror of those idolls the living God gave us the church and steeple the 26 May with the loss of 1 man, and that stronghold upon terms the 28 May. (*C. W. T.* 138.)

On the actual surrender of the town the garrison consisted of sixteen hundred horse and foot, of whom a number, variously estimated at

three hundred and one thousand men, were made prisoners, and the rest escaped. During the siege the garrison lost about eighty men, and the besiegers seven. Ten, or according to another account fourteen, good pieces of ordnance fell into the enemy's hands, and were sent against Halton castle, which was then held for the king by Captain Walter Primrose, whom the Earl of Rivers had appointed to that service. (*C. W. T.* 101.) Leaving a sufficient garrison to keep Warrington the besiegers marched away to Liverpool.

According to the account given in the *Battles and Sieges in the North of England* Lord Capell had sent the garrison of Warrington word to hold out a little longer, but his messenger was intercepted by the Nantwich forces, who thereupon marched to Whitchurch and occasioned a diversion. The story told in Fairfax's *Memoirs* and in *Battles and Sieges* of another attack on the town in the following June, is probably nothing but a confused version of the above account.

The governor who defended Warrington in both attacks was Colonel Edward Norris, eldest son of William Norris esquire of Speke. He was baptised at St. Mary's in Chester, and died before his father on March 16th 1644. (*Proceedings of Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society*, ii. 170.) He maintained the high character for valour which his family had long borne. In April 1643 a party of Seaton's horse attacked him but was gallantly repulsed. He is charged with having put to death in their own house an aged Presbyterian couple who had fallen into his hands, but neither name, time nor place is given, and it is probably nothing more than one of those vague charges by which in those times it was thought allowable *per fas aut nefas* to disparage a gallant commander. In 1652, after Colonel Norris's death, in the debate upon forfeiture for treason, a desire was manifested to pursue him with rancour beyond the grave, and it was moved to insert his name in the bill as "Edward Norris of Hale gentleman deceased." (Orm's *Misc. Palatina*, 51.)

But though much coveted Warrington had fallen, the victors did not feel secure of the place, or something had occurred to occasion a new alarm, for within a few months of its surrender, as if expecting a rescue, they issued the following precept:

> To the Constables of [Middleton] Houghton and Arbury, and to every of them. You are hereby appoynted and commanded to sumon warne and bringe to the gar-

rison towne of Warrington on Monday beinge the xviith day of this instant month by vii of the clocke in the morninge of the same daye sixe good and able teames wth carts and three horses in each carte toge'r with an able driver and tenn sufficient and able workemen of bodie to worke wth spads for the doeinge and p'forminge of such service in and aboute the repayre of the works belonginge to the s'd garrison as shall be sev'ally imposed on them And that likewise y^{ou} bringe and deliver to the overseer of the said works a p'fecte note in writinge of the names of every person that y^{ou} shall so sumon and warne to th' intent that if any shall make defaulte they may be proceeded wth for their neglecte of this. Fayle y^{ou} not att y'r p'rills Given at Warrington the 14th day of September 1643.

J. Booth,
Peter Egerton.

Of one of the subscribers to this document, General Peter Egerton, a short notice has already been given, and of the other, Colonel John Booth, a short notice should be attempted. He was fifth son of Sir George Booth lord of the manor of Warrington, already mentioned as having entered the town after the siege. At the storming of Preston on the 13th of February 1643 he was the first to scale the walls and summon his soldiers to follow him. In March 1644, when he was a colonel, the House of Commons ordered 1000*l.* to be paid to him towards the pay of the garrison of Warrington, and in June of the same year he is again mentioned and called governor of that place. On the 20th August following he served with distinction under General Meldrum in the encounter with the king's forces near Ormskirk, and on the 25th April 1645 he was with his division of four hundred foot and a troop of horse at the leaguer of Lathom, and had an order to receive 671*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* a month for their pay. He was thought at this time of sufficient importance to be named in some scurrilous lines preserved by Mr. Halliwell:

Mainwairing ne'er shrunk
Nor Jack Booth from a punk
Edward's a bankrupt knave
Massey's an ass
So Croxton may pass
His wife's zeal makes him a slave.

On 4th December 1645 Lathom house was surrendered, and Colonel John Booth marched his troops from thence to Dodleston to complete the leaguer of Chester, and on the 28th January following Sir William Brereton named him one of the commissioners to treat for the surrender

of that city. In 1647 he was governor of Warrington, as we learn from a monument *ære perennius*, the town bell which he then gave, and which bears this inscription: "Ex dono Johannis Booth armigeri. Colonelli et rectoris emporii de Warrington anno Domini 1647." This bell which, given in troublous times, doubtless then often sounded the *tocsin*, has rung the Warrington *curfew* for every generation since. Afterwards he seems to have retired from the government of the town, but in 1648 he was ordered by the deputy lieutenants to resume it, in consequence of Sir Thomas Glenham and Sir Philip Musgrave having seized upon Carlisle for the king. On the 29th of May in that year, however, a party of Cromwell's horse entered Warrington, and having seized Colonel Booth and others by warrant from the high sheriff and Colonel Rigby, sent them prisoners to Liverpool, from which place Colonel Booth was afterwards sent to the Tower. (*Cromwelliana*, 40; and Mrs. Greene's *Calendar of State Papers.*) In 1659, when his nephew Sir George Booth rose to restore the king, Colonel Booth joined the movement and was made governor of Chester. In the following May he was knighted by the king, and in September of the same year he presented a petition setting forth his various losses in the king's cause. He had lost, he said, 2000*l.* and his horses when he was governor of Warrington for the king; 6374*l.* when he was sent to the Tower in consequence of the king's commission being found upon him in the Duke of Hamilton's business; 1800*l.* in Lord Wilmot's business; 3750*l.* being the value of his plate, &c. stolen by his *fanatic wife* and her servant when he favoured Sir George Booth's rising; and 2300*l.* pardoned to Pilkington and other his debtors by the act of oblivion. (Mrs. Greene's *Calendar of State Papers.*) In 1671–2 he seems from the following letter (in the collection of Frederick Potts esquire) to have had some employment in the excise:

Sir,

I once writ to Alderman Streete in kindness as a friend, to persuade him to a peaceable conclusion with the late subfarmers of the Excise of y^r^ cittie, and in my letter I disuaded him and soe I did the subfarmer from a journey hither. My letter I am persuaded was shewed to you and y^r^ brethren, and as I have heard was intended to be shewed to the king and councill to my p^r^judice, what the reason was it was not produced there I cannot tell. But I now p^r^sume to write to you to informe you that it was no friendly returne to intend a discourtesie for a kindness; But I knew myselfe out of the reach of mallice as to that businesse I then writt about, and was not so

unwise as to have assumed that libertie to have writt what then I did, had I not leave so to have done; But I have lately heard that upon Alderman Streete's comeing upp I became a petitio^r to him not to shew my letter and that I should promise, and as it it is said have paid him his charges for his journey hither upon condition I should not be questioned for what I had done; and yett, as report goes, hee sayes he did shew my letter to the king, and that I had a check for it. If all this be true the letter was so privately shewed, that I could never come to the knowledge of it to this houre; and if I had a check from his Ma^tie it was with that silence that I never yet heard it nor discerned it in his looks: and I hope the Alderman hath been more prudent than to boast such things, or broach such falcitves: I now boldely say to you I have had thanks from some of the councell for my management of this business, and had it gone on, fouler things had been ript into, than have been yet spoken. I am not willing to mention all particulars of such reports as I have heard have lately been made in your Penthouse, but doe desire you will advise such as speake greater things than they doe, that they will be wary what they say, and that they seeke not by magnificing themselves by forgeries or untruths to lessen others who seeke not to come into ballance with them. S^r a short tyme will shew what your concerns are, and which way to steere, and the worst I wish is you may wisely manage your affairs.

Y^re verie respective frend,

London, Mareh 23, 1671–2, J. Booth.

For the right Wor^ll William Wilson,
Maior of the Cittie of Chester — These.

Colonel Booth married first Dorothy, the daughter of Anthony St. John, who was of a parliamentarian stock and probably had the leanings of her family; and secondly, in 1659, Anne, the daughter of John Gobert and widow of Thomas Leigh of Adlington. He died at his seat at Woodford in 1678.

On the day before this warrant, this entry, which has probably some relation to it, occurs in the Warrington register:

13 Sept. 1643. Buried Sir Robert Vernon.

This was Sir Robert Vernon of Hodnet, who was made a K.B. and controller of her household by Queen Elizabeth, and was indicted as an accomplice with the earls of Essex and Southampton, but was not brought to trial. In 1609 he was on the council of the lords Marchers at Ludlow. (*Fourth Report of the Keeper of Public Records*, 295; and *H. Ludlow*, 267.) He married Mary, the daughter of Sir Robert Needham of Shenton, the relict of Sir Thomas Onneslowe of Boraton, both in the county of Salop. Sir Robert probably was drawn to Warrington

by the troubles of the time, and there, after a busy life, he met his death either in the field or by some act of violence. His faithful wife, who appears to have lingered near ever afterwards, was buried by his side on 27th April 1667. (Collin's *Peerage*, vii. 404; and *Warrington Reg.*)

The Lancashire famine of recent times was not the first visitation of the kind which has affected the county, for on the solemn fast held 12th September 1644 Parliament ordered one half of the collections then made in London and Westminster and within the lines of communication to be sent for the relief of the poor distressed people in Lancashire, who were in great misery and extreme want of food and clothes, and to be distributed by the reverend Mr. Ward of Warrington and others.

On the 22nd November in the same year the receivers of the public moneys were ordered to pay Mr. Robert Massey of Warrington, which seems to have been a great mart for the *matériel* of war, the following sums, viz: 340*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.* for ammunition for the public service; to Mr. Arthur Borron of the same place, gentleman, 600*l.* for his great losses by fine and imprisonment in the cause of the Parliament; and to Mr. Richard Abraham of the same place, salter, 242*l.* for losses by fire occasioned by the enemy.

In the summer of the following year, 1645, the Parliament had great difficulty in paying the Lancashire regiments, and the latter became troublesome to their employers, which gave occasion to the following letter of Sir George Booth to his friend Edward Hyde of Norbury, now in the Warrington Museum, and which has remained hitherto inedited:

Honest Ned,

I have but a little time allowed me, in short, I am to tell you, that if you be one, that would save your Countrey, if you be one, respect the safety and creditt of your friends, if you regard the conservation of what may be deare to you, you must not faile to morrow to meet all your friends at Namptwich. To give some reasons for this my urgencie all our trained bands are in a great discontent, two of them are disbanded the rest threaten, new commands come from above, I beseech you therefore both pardon my importunacie and if you respect me (as I know you doe) let no businesse of your owne, whatever it can be hinder you from comming præcizely to morrow, if you do faile, I protest I shall not thinke you esteeme or value him that is

Your faithful friend
and kinsman
G. Booth.

Dunham July 2d at night 1645.

I expect your resolution in writing by this bearour whom I have sent unto you all night on purpose. I pray you send to Coll. Duckenfield and urge him also, however yourself desert not your countrey and friends.

I pray you let not this scrible be seene by any one.

It may be that the circumstances darkly hinted at in this letter occasioned the committee of sequestrations to assemble at Warrington on the 5th July 1645. It may also have occasioned the rigorous order of the 29th August following, by which no person unfit to bear arms was to be allowed to reside in Warrington, and every inhabitant was to bear arms unless excused by the committee.

From this time the local notices of the Civil war at Warrington are few and not very important. On the 5th July 1645 the register records the burial there of Lieutenant John Yates late of Macclesfield, possibly the same person who was a lieutenant in Lord Brook's regiment, and there called John Gates. (*Parl. Army List.*) In the following year, a consequence probably of the war, a great pestilence raged at Warrington, and the council of Liverpool ordered a watch to be set to prevent persons entering that town from the infected place.

NOTE 67. In Warrington parish books there is an entry under January 4th 1647, stating that the church was then far decayed in respect of the long disasters of the time, and its chancel walls still retain the marks left upon them by the enemy's balls fired during the siege.

NOTE 68. This must have been between the 10th and 20th April. (*C. W. T.*, xxvii.)

NOTE 69. The battle was fought on the 20th April 1643.

NOTE 70. This royalist officer, under the name of Captain Cumme, occurs also in the proceedings of the Lancashire lieutenancy on 14th October 1642, when he returned to Lathom in command of a troop of horse. (*Lancashire Lieutenancy, C. S.*, 279.) His movements seem to have been watched, and our author, who here records his short career and death, does justice to him as an experienced officer. Captain Coney, a royalist, who occurs in the *Royal Army List* (12) as an

officer in Sir Thomas Glenham's regiment, and is thought to have been the son and heir of Sir William Coney one of the Lincolnshire commissioners of array, was a different person from our author's Captain Cunnie, who sprang from Cunney hall, a mansion in the chapelry of Farnworth, of which he was the owner. Amongst the *Houghton Papers*, where he occurs as actively employed in West Derby hundred, there is a petition addressed to him by the inhabitants of Southworth with Croft, Middleton, Houghton and Arbury as "the right worshipful Captain Coney esquire," stating that having been ordered to make four men of the trained band in their quarter of Winwick, and having according to custom made one, and Culcheth according to custom having made two, the latter township encouraged by Captain Holcroft, who lived amongst them and was feared by his neighbours, had unjustly put the making of the fourth man wholly upon them, wherefore they prayed redress. This Captain Holcroft so dreaded by his neighbours was John Holcroft esq. of Holcroft, M.P. for Liverpool in the short Parliament which sat from 13th April to the 5th May 1640, mayor of that place in 1644, and M.P. for Wigan in 1645, for which last place he sat until 1648, when he was ejected under Pride's Purge. (*Moore Rental, C. S.*, ix.)

Note 71. In thus making the attack and taking of Wigan to occur on the 1st April, our author differs from the writer of the *Valley of Achor*, according to whom it took place on March 31st. An item of viii^{s} for provisions to Wigan, occurring in the accounts of the Houghton constable, may relate to provisions supplied either on this occasion or on that mentioned page 22, *note* 2, *ante*. In a statement of what the town had suffered in the Civil wars it is said to have been plundered seven times, and that on the 22nd February 1643 the king had addressed the mayor and burgesses in a letter from Oxford, thanking them for their approved fidelity and indefatigable industry against the rebels, which he promised to remember to their advantage. (Greene's *Calendar of State Papers*.)

Note 72. Colonel Edward Chisenhale was the son and successor of Edward Chisenhale of Chisenhale and of his wife Margaret, daughter and heiress of Nicholas Worthington of Shevington (by which marriage he

acquired that manor). He served as one of the countess's captains in the defence of Lathom house, and in Standish church there are two tablets, on one of which there is recorded a commission from Prince Rupert to him to command eight companies of foot, and to defend the true Protestant religion and the liberties of the king's subjects, and on the other the king's commission to him to be colonel of six troops of horse, which latter, dated 16th August 1631, shews he was a soldier by profession before the breaking out of the Civil war. Colonel Chisenhale, who fought under Rupert at Marston moor, was the head of a family in the neighbouring parish of Chorley, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Rigby of Burgh Esq., by whom he had issue several children as well as his successor Edward Chisenhale, born in the year 1647. His polemical work entitled *Catholike History* shews him to have had literary tastes, and perhaps he has a better title to be considered the author of the *Journal of the Siege of Lathom House* than Edward Halsall, who, if he was even at the siege, was then too young to have written an account of it. Colonel Chisenhale is commemorated by an epitaph in Standish church, where, as we learn from the register, he was buried on the 24th April 1653. Sir Edward Chisenhale, M.P. for Wigan in 1688 and for Preston in 1690, was probably his son. (*H. Lancashire*, iii. 508–9; *C. W. T.*, 3, 41, 358.)

NOTE 73. This is supposed to be Broughton near Cartmel, from which the way was open to Colonel Tildesley either into Westmoreland, Cumberland or Yorkshire.

NOTE 74. Layton with Warbreck, now the site of the favourite bathing resort of Blackpool, which has grown up since our author's time, is the place here meant, and the arms obtained were probably procured from Alexander Rigby the younger, who married a daughter of Sir Gilbert Hoghton, and lived at his father's seat in Layton. He was possibly the Colonel Rigby who was taken prisoner at Wigan. "The grateful cornet," who erected the column to Sir Thomas Tildesley in Wigan lane when he was high sheriff in 1679, was probably his son. After the Restoration he appears for a time as cornet, and in that capacity he is often mentioned in proceedings of the lieutenancy. (*Peel MS.*) He finally rose to be a deputy-lieutenant, and in the

latter years of Charles II. and the first of James II. he was colonel of a regiment.

NOTE 75. The following letter of Sir Ralph Assheton of Whalley, the first baronet (but if so Dr. Whitaker has mistaken the date by a year), shews that the parliamentary party were not free from jealousies even at this early period:

2nd July, 1643.

Mr Norris [of Bolton],

I rejoice to hear that my son's regt doeth so well before Lathom as is represented by yr letter. You seeme mueh to desire my cominge downe, but I see few others desirous of it, and here it is represented that Col. Holland and Col. Rigby are the men desired by the country; if it be so you shall not have nee to come amongst you, for I will never joine with them againe: nevertheless I will here do the best service I can for my country, so yt ye doe shew sueh respect to my sonn, and his officers and soldiers, as may encourage them to continue in the service. But if Stanley, Booth, Holcroft, Egerton, and such like must be applauded and chiefly observed, I will not only stay here, but send for my sonn to come to me, for I scorne yt he shall receive orders from them. I am much displeased at the commitment of Col. Birch and Mr Harrison, because I know that they are honester, and have done more faithful servc for the parlt than they that did commit them. I heare that the princl compt against Col. Birch, was his opposing the great laye for the leaguer of Lathom, in which he did so mueh service for the country, (for it was illegal both in matter and in manner) yt I wonder the country doth not petition the parlt for the release of him and commt of all them.

Yr lovinge friend,
RALPHE ASSHETON.

NOTE 76. This exploit bears a resemblance to the taking of Beeston castle by Captain Sandford and his firelocks as related in the *History of Cheshire,* but to scale the precipitous sides of Beeston required far greater effort, bravery and daring than the lower heights of Hornby.

NOTE 77. This was a very common name on both sides during these Civil wars. The Alexander Rigby here named was of Middleton in Goosnargh near Preston, and was connected with some of the best families in Lancashire and Cheshire. He married Lucy, daughter of Sir Urian Leigh of Adlington in Cheshire, and had issue: (1) Alexander, his successor; (2) Uriah, who died without issue; (3) Edward,

a barrister-at-law, who married first, Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Willford, by whom he had issue a son, Alexander Thomas, Edward. Charles, Lucy and Elizabeth; he married secondly, Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Molyneux baronet; (4) Lucy, who married Robert Hesketh of Rufford esquire. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xii.) Some of his family are remembered in the will of Dorothy Legh of Lyme. (*Lancashire and Cheshire Wills, C. S.*, iii. 204.) Alexander Rigby, who had been bred to the law, was elected M.P. for Wigan in the two Parliaments of 1640, having on both occasions another lawyer, the celebrated Orlando Bridgeman for his colleague. In 1658 he was elected M.P. for the county of Lancaster. Busy as lawyers were in that age Alexander Rigby in activity outdid them all, and, at a time when a journey from Lancashire to London was a formidable undertaking, he seems to have travelled backwards and forwards between the two places almost continually. In Parliament he had almost the chief management of all the Lancashire affairs; he sat on more committees, and on more questions of all kinds, than any other member. In May 1646, when Lady Grosvenor was accused "concerning words spoken in her chamber," it was Rigby who, with Glyn and others, sat to examine the question, and they summoned before them the lady, her doctor and the two waiting maids. On 21st May 1647 he was appointed one of the committee to relieve persons sued for any act done by authority of Parliament. On 29th May 1649 he was a commissioner of the great level for draining the fens. And on 2nd April 1650 he was appointed a commissioner for establishing a high court of justice. Reversing the lawyers' boasting motto, "Cedant arma togæ," he took arms as a colonel in the service of the Parliament, and at the sieges of Lathom and Thurland, the defence of Bolton, and on many other occasions, had the command. At the siege of the former place his son Alexander Rigby, then serving under him as a lieutenant-colonel, was taken prisoner, and only released after a long negotiation in exchange for his relation Uriah Legh. In 1648 Alexander Rigby the father, who was still acting as a colonel in Lancashire, joined the high sheriff in signing the warrant for apprehending and committing Colonel John Booth to prison at Liverpool, from whence he was afterwards sent to the Tower, on a charge of favouring the Duke of Hamilton's rising. He was shortly afterwards named as one of the

king's judges, but he declined to sit. His refusal, however, gave no serious offence to Cromwell, for in the following February, when he offered him a seat in the exchequer, Rigby, not being one of those stubborn lawyers whose refusal to wear the protector's ermine extorted from him the passionate exclamation that if he could not govern by red gowns he would govern by red coats, accepted the proffered office, and continued to fill it until the 19th August 1650, when that death which he had so often faced in the field overtook him in a more frightful form, for happening at that time to be on the circuit, and holding the assizes with his brother judge Baron Gates at Croydon, a prisoner sick of gaol fever was brought before them, and the two judges took the infection and both of them fell victims to it. At the time of his death, Rigby, according to the *Parliamentary Debates* (vol. iii. at the end), was also governor of Boston. Rigby possessed a rare combination of great talents and great energy, and had the art of waiting patiently for the fit moment to carry out his plans, but he was not always scrupulous in the use of means for accomplishing his objects. As a soldier he shewed a courage and spirit which extorted the admiration of his brother lawyer Whitlocke, who, emulous perhaps of his renown, when sitting for his own portrait chose to be represented in armour. But though courageous, Rigby was popular with no party, and at times his conduct justified the epithet of insolent, which Lady Derby applied to him. In Parliament he was remarkable for always advocating the strongest courses. He sat on the committee for drawing up the articles against Laud, voted for impeaching Lord Keeper Finch and Lord Strange, and did his best to have them both convicted. But perhaps the most violent of all Alexander Rigby's violent measures was his bargaining to sell the masters of St. John's, Queen's, and Jesus colleges Cambridge, and sending them as slaves to Algiers. (*Moore Rental, C. S.*, pref. viii. ix., and authorities there cited; *Parl. Debates*, vol. iii. at the end.)

Edward Rigby, another of Alexander Rigby's sons, who had been also bred to the bar, fell into pecuniary difficulties, and was thrown into prison for debt, upon which on the 15th February 1646 his father, who said he had been his servant for three months, and was thereby exempt from imprisonment as being in the service of a Parliament man, sought to have him released. His creditors, however, who were not inclined to yield obedience to this not very creditable claim of parliamentary privi-

lege, persisted in detaining him until the 18th January following, when they were stopped by an order of the House, which commanded both the judges and the counsel and solicitors concerned to yield obedience to the privilege claimed. The prisoner thus released, only a few days after was put forward as a candidate for the office of clerk of the crown for Lancashire, then voted vacant by the removal for delinquency of Alexander Rigby of the Burgh, but on the question being proposed the House decided that it should not be put to the vote, and immediately appointed William Ashurst to the office, the same who in the long Parliament sat as M.P. for Newton, and in 1653 for the county of Lancaster, and who in 1648 wrote *Foundations of Freedom*. Edward Rigby, who served during the Usurpation as a sequestrator of delinquents' estates, ultimately attained the rank of a serjeant-at-law. After the Restoration he became a deputy-lieutenant, and in that character dealt out the saving mercies of the party he had formerly persecuted. In 1660, 1661, and 1678 he was M.P. for Preston, and on 12th January 1661 he had a curious service put upon him, being commanded to seize the mail bags and open all letters addressed to suspected persons. (*Peet MS.*) On 22nd December 1663 he was appointed one of the commissioners to see Lancaster Castle repaired, and on 10th January 1665 he joined his brother magistrates in apportioning among the several hundreds the sum ordered by Parliament to be raised from the county. (*Ibid.*) Immediately after the accession of James II., when the king was suspected of a design upon the constitution, Edward Rigby and his brother Alexander, well known as the friends of liberty, fell under suspicion, and the following warrant, preserved in the *Peet MS.*, was issued against them:

> Having received intimation that Alexander Rigby of Middleton and Edward Rigby of Preston serjeant at law are persons disaffected to his M^ty^s government and of principles obnoxious to the public peace and at this juncture not fit to be at large These are to command you that you forthwith take into your custody the body of them and each of them and keep a guard upon them in some convenient place till you receive further order herein Given under my hand and seal at Knowsley this 18^th^ day of June in the first year of his M^ty^s reign 1685. DERBY.

In pursuance of this warrant Edward Rigby was taken and lodged in Chester castle four days afterwards. A good portrait of Alexander Rigby the father is in the possession of Mr. Rigby Knowles of Preston.

Rigby printed his *Speech in answer to the Lord Finch*. 1641. and

A relation of a great victory in Lancashire, 1643. (Reprinted in *C. W. T.* 148.)

NOTE 78. Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Rigby, the eldest son of Colonel Alexander Rigby of Middleton, who is referred to in the preceding note. He promoted the measures taken against Lady Derby after her husband's death. (*Sieges and Battles*, 208). In 1658 he was M.P. for Lancaster, and in that and the following year was a frequent speaker. (Burton's *Diary*, iv. 46-47 and 474). It does not appear whether he was ever taken under the warrant mentioned as issued against him and Edward Rigby in the preceding note.

NOTE 79. On 17th June 1646, or a little after this time, the steward of the Legh family thus writes:

The towne of Hoole hathe beene much impoverished and until Lathom house was delivered I could not with safetie send thither: soe that the pooreness of the people neglect of calling upon them for theire rents, together with these times of libertie and distraction rendered them of that place incredibly forgetful and manie would denie to pay anie rent. And since Lathom was delivered to the parliament I have sent there three tymes and appointed Henry Hunt to gather the rents or demande at least and the receipts &c. (*Legh MSS.*)

NOTE 80. Though the author's meaning is plain his language here is ambiguous, and leaves it doubtful whether it was the people or the cattle that were killed and drest.

NOTE 81. Acting in this respect in the true spirit of that advice given from the pulpit, "This vineyard," says one of their preachers, "cannot but see that nothing is wanting on your part; for you have endeavoured to fence it by a settled militia; to gather out malignants as stones; to plant it with men of piety as choice vines; to build the tower of a powerful ministry in the midst of it, and also to make a wine press therein for the *squeezing* of delinquents." (John Arrowsmith's *Sermons*, 1643). But even before this time the garrison having become burthensome, it had been determined that the estates of delinquents were the most proper source to be resorted to for its support.

NOTE 82. See Martindale's account of him, *note* 20 *ante*.

NOTE 83. In the tract, *Exceeding joyful news out of Lancashire*, probably published about May 1643, it is said, in relating the attack on Warrington, that a ship of the Earl of Warwick's fleet having struck into Liverpool harbour in the river Mersey which comes to the said town [of Warrington] put the enemy into great fear, and although it came in rather by accident than with any intent to aid the Earl of Derby, yet within two days after, when the Manchester men had gotten the great street and planted their ordnance on the church which commanded the town, the popish forces sent to Colonel Assheton to desire a parley. (*C. W. T.*, 102-3.) In another tract, *The Valley of Achor*, it is said that a ship waited at Liverpool watching a friendly opportunity to unburden itself for Cheshire, and to supply the Parliament party with powder. (*C. W. T.*, 138.) If both authors refer to the same incident it is as difficult to reconcile their accounts as to understand how such a ship in the river could be of use to either party at Warrington, and if the passage in the text also relates to the same event there is a mistake both as to the time the vessels appeared in the Mersey and as to their being the king's, for so long before as the council at York, Warwick, the admiral of the fleet, had declared for the Parliament.

NOTE 84. Birkenhead.

NOTE 85. This engagement of Sir William Brereton and part of Colonel Assheton's Manchester regiment with Lord Byron, whose army had just been reinforced with some Irish troops lately landed at Mostyn in North Wales, took place on 26th December 1643. It did not, as it has been said, commence at Northwich, but at or near Sandbach, and it terminated at Middlewich. Major Ferrer (possibly the Captain Farryer whose name occurs in the royal army list) was slain on the king's side (*C. W. T.*, 152-3); and these entries from the Holmes Chapel register refer to some persons of humbler note who fell on the same occasion:

1643. Dec. 27. Thomas Rawlinson, buried.
Dec. 29. Silleto, buried.
Both Slaine.

NOTE 86. This alludes to the battle between the combined forces under Fairfax and Brereton and the army under Lord Byron on 26th

(not 25th) January 1644, which ended in the defeat of the latter and the raising of the siege of Nantwich. (*C. W. T.*, 154, 229.) In this battle Monk, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Albemarle, who had only rejoined his regiment the day before, was made prisoner and sent to the Tower, where he remained for two years, the king all that time supporting him out of his private resources. Sherlock, afterwards rector of Winwick but then chaplain to the forces, who was also taken prisoner at the same time, was shortly afterwards released, when he went to York, where he again became chaplain to the forces. It is remarkable that while a chaplain is set down to every regiment on the Parliamentary side no such officer is asigned to any regiment on the other side. (Peacock's *Army Lists of the Cavaliers and Roundheads* 1642, published in 1863.)

NOTE 87. This person and his assistant engineer, who was taken prisoner at the siege of Lathom, are both mentioned in the account of the siege of that place. Morgan probably began the siege works soon after the 10th March 1644, about which time the treaty ended, and he was sent by Fairfax to the assistance of Rigby and Egerton. His history from the time he entered as a humble lieutenant until he ranked as a general of approved talents and courage may be traced in the chronicles of the day. Cromwell and Charles II. alike confided in this little "peremptory" man, whose last appearance in public was at the funeral of his patron the Duke of Albemarle in A.D. 1669. It does not appear how soon after this event his own death happened.

NOTE 88. This was either a stand from which races in the park might be viewed, such as at that day was not uncommon in the grounds of the nobility and gentry, or a place used for taking the deer, which was also not uncommon in similar situations, and was called a *stabilitura* or stand.

NOTE 89. By the *Pardu* is here meant the forlorn or perilous advance.

NOTE 90. This place, which is in Eccleston parish, is in the direct line from Lathom to Preston, and is still marked upon our county maps

Note 91. No place of this name is now known in Preston.

Note 92. This Robert Blundell is probably the same whose burial register at Preston in March 1657 describes him as a gentleman, and the son of Alderman Henry Blundell. His house cannot now be identified.

Note 93. It does not appear who this Rowland Gaskell "the marshal" was.

Note 94. "Twice."

Note 95. Colonel Tildesley it is presumed.

Note 96. George Dodding of Conishead Priory Esq., member of an old Furness family on the breaking out of the Civil war, was appointed by Parliament a deputy-lieutenant and a justice of the peace. On the 1st April 1643 he was made a sequestrator of delinquents' estates, and afterwards became a colonel in the Parliament service. On 26th August 1644 he and Colonel Nicholas Shuttleworth defeated and took prisoners the Scotch Lord Ogleby and Colonel Hudleston near Preston. Lord Ogleby was possibly the Lord Ogle afterwards taken in Basing House. (Oldmixon ii. 296.) On 29th August 1645 Colonel Dodding was made by Parliament one of the Lancashire committee. (*H. Preston*, 181; West's *Furness*, 216; *C. W. T.*, 342, 360.) We learn from our author that he was afterwards at Marston Moor, where his regiment suffered severely.

Note 97. "At Trafford."

Note 98. The storming of Bolton, the saddest act of a sad drama, throws a stain upon the otherwise fair character of our great civil strife:

> For England's war revered the claim
> Of every unprotected name,
> And spared amid its fiercest rage
> Childhood and womanhood and age!

But Lord Derby, who only served and did not command at Bolton,

and regretted more than any one the excesses committed there, must not be blamed for the acts of his chief. But there is one charge, that of killing Captain Bootle, which peculiarly belongs to him, and which though not made now for the first time, was never made with such circumstances of aggravation before; and as a good man's name is his country's inheritance our time will not be misspent in examining the question in some detail, and in doing so we shall first notice two accounts of the storming, which, though no mention is made in them of this charge, have yet an indirect bearing upon it. We shall take first the account of an anonymous cavalier who took part in the attack on Bolton, and seems to have written his narrative at the time. He tells us that—

When the prince first came to the town he sent a summons to demand it for the king, but received no answer *but from the enemy's guns*, commanding the messenger to keep off at his peril.

And further that—

The prince was beaten off with loss; but at last being resolved to carry the place he doubled his numbers, and renewing the attack with fresh men the foot entered the town over their works, killing in the first heat of the action all that came in their way, some of the foot at the same time letting in the horse, and so the town was entirely won. (*Sieges and Battles in the North of England*, 151.)

Rushworth's account, which we shall next cite, is that—

On Tuesday May 28th 1644 Prince Rupert, with his whole army consisting of 10,000 men or upwards, appeared about two o'clock in the afternoon before the town, approaching it on the moor on the south west part of it, but presently cast themselves into several bodies, and sent out scouts to discover where they might most advantageously enter. Those in the town prepared for their defence, and gave the assailants half an hour's sharp entertainment, and repulsed them, but in the second attack, which was performed with all imaginable fury, a party of horse broke into the town at a place called the *Private Acres* (it being suspected that a certain townsman for a reward had been their guide that way as the most feasible passage), and being once got in every one endeavoured to shift for himself, and the prince's forces rushed in on all quarters of the town and put great numbers to the sword, pursuing their victory not only in the town but some miles round, in outhouses, fields, highways and woods, killing, destroying and spoiling almost all they met with, and (as the townspeople alleged afterwards) *denying quarter* and using other violences, besides totally plundering the town and slaying four ministers. It was acknowledged by the prince's own party that they there put to the sword about 1200, but for this severity they alleged that the prince sending an officer to summon the town they not only refused but in defiance caused one of the prince's captains whom they had taken not long

before to be hanged in his sight. But as I find not this captain's name anywhere mentioned, so the other party wholly denied that part of the story. On the parliament's side two captains were slain, but Colonel Rigby, a counsellor at law and member of the House of Commons who commanded here in chief, escaped with some scattered forces to Bradford in Yorkshire. (Rushworth's *Hist. Coll.*)

Clarendon, in his *History of the Rebellion* (part iii. vol. ii. 623-24), imputes no blame to Lord Derby for the excesses committed at Bolton, and does not name Bootle. Seacome, the historian of the House of Stanley, who could not but have heard of this charge, never mentions it and must be considered to have rejected it as unworthy of credit, Oldmixon, in the *History of England*, though abounding in gossip of all kinds, never mentions the death of Bootle. He quotes Rushworth as questioning Rupert's right to refuse quarter, but never intimates a doubt that he did so refuse it. (ii. 248.) Chisenhale or whoever wrote the account of the *Siege of Lathom*, our next authority, informs us that when that siege had been raised —

The Earl of Derby, desiring to be one of the first avengers at Bolton of that barbarousness and cruelty exercised towards his lady, with a troop of the prince's own horse charged a troop of the enemy which braveringly issued out of the town to disorder and vex our foot in the assault. These he charged to the very walls, where he slew the cornet and with his own hand took the colours, being the first ensign taken that day, which he sent to his highness. At his first pass into the town, closely following the foot at their entrance, his lordship met with Captain Bootle, formerly one of his own servants, and the most virulent enemy against his lady in the siege. Him he did the honour of too brave a death to die by his lord's hand, with some others of his good countrymen that had three months thirsted for his lady's and his children's blood. (*Siege of Lathom*, 62.)

The charge of killing Bootle is next made against Lord Derby in *An Exact Relation of the Bloody and Barbarous Massacre at Bolton, by* a (so called) *Eye witness*. According to this writer —

About two o'clock in the afternoon of the 28th May 1644, the enemy was discovered about a mile off [Bolton] and they made their approaches to the town on the More south west from it. Their number was guessed, and by themselves after confessed to be about 12,000. They appeared at first like a wood, or cloud, and presently were cast into several bodies; divers scouts approached to discover the way for their entrance with most advantage. Our commanders were very couragious and our soldiers very hardy, and both resolved to stand to it, and in the first encounter gave them about halfe an houres sharpe entertainment, were close in discharge, as the enemies confessed after, and repulsed them bravely to the enemies great losse and discouragement, and in their retreate cut them downe before them *in great abundance, and they fell like leaves*

from a tree in a winter morning. Then was a breathing, or rather a new preparative for a fresh encounter which was gallantly performed on both sides, wherein the worthy Colonel Rigby and his commanders Captain Willoughby Captain Bootle and the rest did notable service. But alas! what could naked men do against horse in an unfortified place: besides it is conceived that a townsman was their convoy to bring them on through a place called the Private Akers for a great reward; and when once the horse was got into the town there could be no resistance almost made but every man left to *shift for himself.* At their entrance, before, behind, to the right and left, nothing heard but kill dead, kill dead, was the word in the town, killing all before them without any respect without the town by their horsemen, pursuing the poore amazed people, killing, stripping and spoiling all they could meet with, nothing regarding the doleful cries of women or children; but some they slashed as they were calling for quarter, others when they had given quarter, many hailed out of their houses to have their brains dasht out in the streets; those that were not dead in the streets already pistoled, slashed, brained or troden under their horses feet, with many insolent blasphemous oaths, curses and challenges to heaven itselfe, (no doubt) hastening the filling up of their cup and bringing that swift destruction upon them which they shortly after tasted of (*and blessed, blessed for ever be the great and just God for it*) with many taunts and cruell mockings.

And then, after other relations to the same effect, the author thus proceeds:

But the principal stain of all this cruelty, *as is reported,* was set off by that *strange earle,* his ignoble, nay base killing of valiant *Captain Bootle after quarter given,* besides whom and Captain Horrocke we lost no commander of note; but they lost, as is confessed, a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel and divers other commanders of good quality. (*C. W. T.* 189.)

But it remained for the latest of all these chroniclers, the author of the *Lancashire Warr,* to repeat the story of Bootle's death with new and unheard of circumstances of aggravation. According to him—

The enemy took at least 200 prisoners after they gave quarter. Amongst whom was Captaine Budles who before tyme had been a servant to the Earle of Darby at Lathom House afterwards made Captaine of a Companie [of foot] and called to the Leaguer against it. He, a prisoner, hearing that the Earle was in the towne, was desirous to be brought before him hoping (belike) to have found favour with him. The Earle instead of favour drew upon him, and run him through with his sword twoo men having the Prisoner by eyther Arme, a cruell and butchery act, not becoming a noble spiritt.

In another place (p. 82) he mentions the place where the captain was killed as being near the market cross. And then, differing both from Rushworth who mentions only two captains as slain, and from an *Eye witness* who names Captain Horrocke as the only captain slain,

besides Bootle, he proceeds to name four other captains and one lieutenant, all of whom fell in the fight at Bolton.

These are the principal authorities on the storming of Bolton, and upon each of them a few remarks may be permitted.

A *Cavalier* tells us that to the prince's demand of the town for the king the garrison gave no answer but from their guns, warning the messenger to keep off at his peril; in other words, they fired on his flag of truce, which provoked him to renew the attack with redoubled numbers, when the assailants gave no quarter, but in the first heat of the action killed all who came in their way. Rushworth says that in the second attack, which was conducted with all imaginable fury, a party of Rupert's horse (perhaps that same troop of the prince's own mentioned in the *Siege of Lathom* as led by Lord Derby) broke into the town, after which the rest of the forces rushed in and, denying quarter, put great numbers to the sword, for which the justification alleged was that the garrison in the prince's sight had hanged up on the ramparts one of his captains whom they had before taken in battle. Rushworth evidently meant to say that, when the town was first gained, Rupert refused all quarter, and in fact gave none. Neither the cavalier who was at Bolton, nor Rushworth who seems to have written his account with great care, if he did not actually visit Bolton for the purpose, ever once mentions either the death of Bootle, or that Lord Derby was to be blamed for any of the excesses of the day. But when Rupert had raised the siege of Lathom, and set its cavalier garrison free, they were in no temper after their three months' confinement and privations to use their restored liberty with calmness and moderation. They longed to retaliate upon their enemies; and above all the rest, William Bootle, who, being the earl's porter and knowing all the recesses of his house, had deserted to the enemy, and in his new rank of captain to which they had raised him, had served before Lathom, and shewn towards his gallant mistress, there shut up in her own house, great bitterness, if not ingratitude, was especially obnoxious to their hate. Under these circumstances, we do not wonder then if we find their historian recording his death with undisguised satisfaction, though, as he tells it, there was nothing cowardly or unsoldierlike in the manner of it. But an air of exaggeration is cast upon his story when he adds that some others of his good countrymen died at the same time by the

same hand; and we are inclined to think he erroneously imputed his own revengeful feelings to Lord Derby, and wrote rather what he wished and hoped than what he knew. If so, he was unintentionally the first author of the charge against Lord Derby, who was thus first wounded in the house of his friends.

We come next to the relation of the so called *Eye witness*, who says the garrison of Bolton gave the enemy about half an hour's sharp entertainment, and repulsed them bravely to their great loss, cutting them down before them in great abundance, so that *they fell like leaves from the tree in a winter morning*. This, if true, was of itself enough to arouse the never slow wrath of Rupert and drive him to forbid quarter, without allowing either that the garrison had hanged one of his captains on the ramparts as some allege or fired on his flag of truce as a *Cavalier* alleges. But he tells us further that when the enemy's horse had once entered the town there could be no further resistance, and that the cry was everywhere Kill, kill, by which we are to understand that there was no quarter, and then he adds that the earl put the valiant Captain Bootle to death *after quarter given*, which if he was killed at the first pass into the town, as we are informed by the historian of Lathom, could hardly be. Our so called *Eye witness*, however, admits that he was not an eye-witness of Bootle's death, but only heard of it by report. His account was evidently not written until after Rupert's reverses at Marston, and most probably not until about the 22nd August, when it was first printed, or nearly three months after the events it relates. But whoever compares this writer's relation with Rushworth's will see that the language of the two is so nearly identical that one must have been copied from the other; and as we can hardly suppose that Rushworth would copy from any one, I am inclined to think an *Eye witness* copied Rushworth's account, and added to it the story of Bootle's death, which the latter had rejected as improbable or untrue, and which an *Eye witness* has the bad taste to relate in terms which affect to pun upon Lord Derby's former title, and he added to it also a notice of those reverses of Rupert, over which he exults with such questionable piety. But whether an *Eye witness* copied Rushworth or Rushworth him, the story of Bootle's death is told only by the latter.

The statement of the author of the *Lancashire War* now alone remains for comment. It does not appear that he was at the storming of Bolton, and this may account for some of his inconsistencies and contradictions

I. With the exception of this story all the other accounts agree that at the first entrance into Bolton the carnage was indiscriminate, and that no quarter was given; and they also agree it was then that the meeting between Lord Derby and his late servant took place, but if this were so 200 persons could not then have been made prisoners.

II. If the charge of killing Bootle be true in all its aggravated circumstances as told in the *Lancashire War*, how happens it that it has remained untold until now? There was no inclination at that time to screen Lord Derby, and no more fitting story than his so killing his late servant could have been invented to damage him.

III. If Bootle was actually a prisoner, does it not seem most unlikely that at such a time he should request to be taken before Lord Derby, whom of all men he had most deeply injured, or that while the battle was raging, or even when it was partially over, there should be any opportunity so to confront the prisoner with his lordship.

IV. To draw upon an unarmed man is so cowardly and unmanly an act, that a soldier of whatever rank would revolt from it.

V. But not only does our author make the earl stab Bootle while a prisoner, but stab him while his arms were pinioned, a thing as base and cruel as it is utterly inconsistent with the earl's previous character and his noble nature.

None of the writers who mention Bootle's death pretends either that he saw it, or that he heard of it from any one who did, and none of them except an *Eye witness*, who says he only heard of Bootle's death, was in the town when Bolton was stormed. It is curious to see how the small snow-ball became a great one. The historian of Lathom says Lord Derby slew his late servant, and leads us to suppose it was in the heat of the fight; an *Eye witness* says he killed him after quarter, and the author of the *Lancashire War* clothes the relation with further circumstances of unparalleled barbarity.

After all, however, the candid reader will hardly think that the charge of having killed his servant after quarter as described by an *Eye witness*, still less in the cowardly and inhuman manner described by the author of the *Lancashire War*, is brought home to the Earl of Derby.

Only one other enquiry remains to be made, which is, Did Captain Bootle, either in the heat of the fight at Bolton or otherwise, fall by Lord Derby's hand at all? It has been already intimated that the in-

discreet forwardness of the historian of the *Siege of Lathom* first gave rise to the charge, and Bishop Rutter, who though not in Bolton, probably had his information from those who were, and was very likely to be well informed, confirms this view of the matter, for he says that the earl led the forlorn hope, and that when his late servant met him in the heat of the carnage near the market cross and craved quarter, the earl said to him: "I will not kill thee, but I cannot save thee from others." (*C. W. T.* p. 188.) But on such a charge the earl himself, who must have known the truth and was too noble not to own it, even when it made against him, is surely entitled to be heard, especially as we draw near that last closing scene of his sad story,

> When Derby's earl through Bolton's thronged street
> On a vile palfrey rode that death to meet
> Which he had courted oft on fields of strife,
> The patriot's meed and crown. Ears tingle yet
> To hear the words, the last on earth he spoke,
> Ere fell the stroke
> Which tore that noble heart from love and life!

At such a moment, then, if we find his lordship, under a sanction far higher than even his honour or his oath,—the near prospect of eternity,—denying that he had any share in the death of Captain Bootle, we may surely believe him. In one part of his speech on the fatal scaffold, he said:

> Captain Bootle's death was never mentioned against me on my trial, and has been only secretly used to raise a prejudice against me in the judgment of such as did not know me. (*Black Tribunal*, 242–43.)

And again, in a far fuller report of his speech, he says:

> I come and am content to die in this town, whither I endeavoured to come the last time I was in Lancashire, as to a place where I persuaded myself to be welcome; in regard the people thereof have reason to be satisfied of my love and affection to them, and that now they understand sufficiently I am no man of blood as some have falsely slandered me, especially in the killing of a captain in this towne whose death is declared upon oath so as the time, place and person now appear under the hand of a master of the Chancery, besides several attestations of a gentleman of honour in this kingdom (who was in the fighte in this towne), and of others of good repute both in this towne and country. And I am confident there are some in this place who can witness my mercy and care for the sparing of many men's lives that day. (Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, lib. xi. 47; and cotemporary *MS.* preserved at Knowsley.

The charge against the earl was admirably contrived and was well

adapted to serve a party purpose. The slaughter of a servant, by his master especially, when it seems to be prompted by revenge, has in it something so odious that the bare report of it is well calculated to damage a great name. Besides if, as in this case, the servant fell in the heat of a bloody fight, few if any would be able accurately to note the facts, and no two persons afterwards would be able to give the same account of them. It was easy to charge the earl with the death of Bootle, and not so easy for him to refute it, and accordingly it was taken advantage of to his prejudice; and in the *Perfect Diurnal*, a party journal published after the earl's death, we read that Bolton was selected as the place of his execution "on account of the cruelties of Rupert and the earl there, and the latter's slaying there *in cold blood* one Captain Bootle, formerly his servant." (*C. W. T.* 189 in notes.) But this party paragraph did not appear until seven years after the storming of Bolton, and the traditional hatred of Bolton against Lord Derby, which it assumes, is best answered by the conduct of the people at his death. As he passed to the scaffold, and there stood waiting till all was ready, there were no execrations heard, but, on the contrary, he was greeted with lamentations and blessings, insomuch that he said aloud: "There is no man revileth me, God be thanked." Nay, so strongly was the people's sympathy manifested, that the soldiers took alarm as if they feared a rescue, and interrupted his lordship's speech before it was ended. (*Sieges and Battles*, 198–201; *Black Tribunal*, 241–247.) And shortly afterwards, when "the long divorce of steel" fell on him, one united prayer arose from the assembled multitude "to lift his soul to heaven!"

NOTE 99. An undated letter from George Goring to Prince Rupert, written about 15th June 1644 says: "The rebels have this evening attempted the passage at Haleford." There is also a letter of Sir Wm. Davenant dated at the same place, and Prince Rupert, returning from Marston Moor, is said to have passed that way into Cheshire. (*Memoirs of Rupert and the Cavaliers*, and *C. W. T.*, 203.) The river then so fordable cannot be forded now, although in the recollection of some persons still living there was still one place where people on foot or in vehicles might pass over the river from Hale on the Lancashire side to Weston or Ince on the Cheshire shore.

Note 100. See *note* 55 *ante.*

Note 101. The Bradkirks were known in Kirkham (see the account of the charities in that parish, *H. Lancashire*, iv. 390); but Cuthbert Bradkirk's name has not been found either there or elsewhere.

Note 102. George Goring was probably on his march to join the prince when he wrote the letter mentioned in *Note* 99 *ante.* This is the Colonel Goring who was sent prisoner to London from Manchester. (See *C. W. T.* 146.)

Note 103. The Scottish Lord Ogleby.

Note 104. Colonel Huddleston of Millom Castle. In his letter to the House, (*C. W. T.* 148,) Rigby, who calls him serjeant major general of Cumberland, mentions having sent him prisoner to London. Ferdinando Hudleston of Millom, once an M. P., had nine sons all in the king's service. (Nicolson and B. *H. Cumberland*, i. 12.) The person now taken prisoner was either this Ferdinando or one of his nine sons.

Note 105. It does not appear what regiment this was.

Note 106. As these places are nearly eight miles apart the march of the army must have been very loose and straggling.

Note 107. "Clothes" here does not mean dress, but cloths to screen the corn from the wind.

Note 108. See as to this nobleman *Note* 8 *ante.*

Note 109. Sir Marmaduke Langdale.

Note 110. Colonel Tildesley, who had now been knighted.

Note 111. Freckleton Marsh.

Note 112. Although Lea Hall is not less than three or four miles from the Ribble, the river can easily be seen from thence.

Note 113. As to Colonel Dodding, see *Note* 96 *ante*. (*H. Lancashire*, ii. 24; *H. Preston*, 163.)

Note 114. Major Joseph Rigby, one of the numerous Rigbys on the parliamentary side, was the brother of George Rigby, and had a grant from King James I. of the reversion of the clerkship of the peace for Lancashire. He is mentioned in Mrs. Greene's *Calendar of State Papers* as having been a parliamentary commander. He is supposed to be the Joseph Rigby, author of the *Drunkard's Prospective or Burnyng Glasse*, London 1656.

Note 115. Haleford is again alluded to as a common crossing place of the Mersey.

Note 116. The mention of this siege is new, for the latest history of the neighbourhood (Hardwicke's *Preston*, p. 363) says the castle was dismantled in 1649 or 1650, probably in compliance with an order of Parliament dated May 27th 1649. (*C. W. T.* 209.) Hugh Anderton of Clayton and Euxton gentleman, who was appointed commissary for Amounderness and Lonsdale, p. 17 *ante*, was taken prisoner at the storming of Preston, on which occasion he is mentioned as old Mr. Anderton of Clayton. He was also active at the storming of Bolton (*C. W. T.* 75.) He was afterwards made prisoner and sent to Lancaster, and was confined there when Charles II. was at his house at Euxton, in 1651, but the Scots set him at liberty. According to the *Black Tribunal* (369) a Christopher Anderton fell at Marston moor. Christopher Anderton served at the first attack on Bolton, and signed the recusants' petition for arms. The fact seems to be that Greenough castle was garrisoned by the Earl of Derby, and placed under the command of Robert Plessington esquire in 1643; but the siege was not until 1645, and the Mr. Anderton who then died there was probably Captain Christopher Anderton of Lostock, mentioned in Lord Castlemaine's list of Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen as having died there with Captain J. Hothersall. (See Dodd's and B. Challoner's *Missionary Priests*, 327, 333.)

NOTE 117. An account of Major Edward Robinson, the supposed author of the *Derby MS.*, will be found in the Introduction.

NOTE 118. This is alluded to in the account of Major Robinson, given in the introduction.

NOTE 119. Mrs. Stanley of Eccleston.

NOTE 120. Gillibrand House in Parbold. See the *Map of Lancashire.*

NOTE 121. Not Mr. Paul, but Mr. "Paul" Moreau is here meant.

NOTE 122. This battle is described in Cromwell's letter published by Mr. Baines (*H. Lancashire*, ii. 47), and other particulars of it may be seen in Burton's *Civil Wars*, Bankes's *Cromwell*, Godwin's *Commonwealth*, and Clarendon's *H. Rebellion*. Other notices of it of a more local nature are also met with: thus, in the Warrington register we have this memorandum: "Lieftenant Generall Cromwill's forces did route duke Hambilton's armie and Sir Marmaduke Langdal's force upon the 16, 17, 18, and 19 of August in the year 1648." And in the Winwick register we read thus: "1648 Sept. 3. Buried Major John Chumley shouldier;" which last may possibly explain this entry in Heath's *Chronicle* (323): "The Scots at Red bank fight (in Winwick) were commanded by a little spark in a blue bonnet who performed the part of an excellent commander and was killed on the spot." But of all the local notices the following letter, written by Cromwell from Warrington, and of which a *fac simile* is in the Warrington Museum, is the most remarkable:

The Hon^ble^ the Committee at Yorke.

We have quite tyred our horses in pursuit of the enemie. We have kil'd, taken, and dispers'd all their foot, and left them only some horse, with whom the Duke is fled into Dallam'e forest, having neither foot nor draggoones. They have taken 500 of them, I meau the country forces, as they send mè word, this daye, they are so tyred and in such confusion that if my horse could but trott after them, I could take them all; but we are soe weary we can scarce be able to doe more than walk after them. I beseech you therefore lett Sir Hen. Cholmdley, Sir Edwd. Roades, Coll. Hatcher, and Coll. Whyte, and all the cuntryes about you be sent too ryse with you and

follow them for they are the miserablest ptye that ever was: I durst engage myself with 500 fresh horse, and 500 nimble foot, to destroy them all: my horse are miserably beaten out, and I have 10,000 of them prisoners. Wee have kil'd wee know not what, but a very great nomber, having done execution upon them above 30 myles together, besides what wee kil'd in the two great feights, the one at Preston, the other at Warrington. The enimie was 24,000 horse, and foot, in the daye of the feight, whereof 18,000 foot, and 6000 horse, and our nomber about 6000 foot, and 3000 horse, att the uttermost. This is a glorious daye, God helpe England to answer his mercies. I have noe more, but beseech you in all your p'tes to gather into bodies, and to pursew. I rest, yr most humble servant

O. CRUMWELL.

Warrington, this 20th August 1648.

The greatast parte by far of the nobilitie of Scotland are with Duke Hambleton.

The titles of the regiments and the number of the prisoners taken at Warrington are thus given in the *Parliamentary History of England* (vol. xx.):

The Duke of Hamilton's, Lieutenant-General Bailey's, Colonel Esther's, Colonel Mackenzie's, Lord Dumfries's, the General of the artillery's, Colonel Frazier's, Sir John Gray's, Lord Tullibardine's, Lord Hume's, Colonel Henry Maule's, Lord Carnegy's, Lord Hay's, Lord Keith's, the Marquis of Argyle's, Lord Roxborough's, and Lord Athol's. The prisoners taken consisted of Lieutenant-General Bailey, 5 colonels, 8 majors, 20 captains, 48 lieutenants, 78 ensigns, 3 quarter-masters, 128 sergeants, and 2,256 private men.

If we are to take as true the statement made in the preface to the *Moore Rental* (viii. xxix. and xxxix.) the fate of these prisoners was very hard. Thousands of them it is said were sent as slaves to Virginia and Barbadoes, and some even to the galleys in Venice.

NOTE 123. The Winwick register records the fate of some men who were either amongst those who thus retired into Scotland or went there at a later period to join in the king's advance to Worcester:

March 1650. Henry Beach dyed the second of this month at Hambleton in Scotland. James Barton dyed the 16th of this month and was buried at Hambleton in Scotland.

NOTE 124. The true numbers of both armies are given in Cromwell's letter, *note* 122 *ante*.

NOTE 125. It has been generally supposed that Lord Derby entered the Wyre water on the 16th August, but it will be seen in a subse-

quent note that he really arrived and landed there on the 15th. (Baines's *H. of Liverpool*, 321). On the 17th he had an interview with the king in Cheshire (*C. W. T.*, 293), after which he appears to have returned into Lancashire, and to have remained at or near Warrington, preparing to assist the king until 20th August, on which day, just three years before, Bailey at the same place had laid down his arms.

Note 126. On the 15th August 1651 the king slept at Bryn, the seat of Sir William Gerard, six miles from Warrington. An account of the king's advance through this place will be found in the letters of "H. D." (Colonel Danvers), Major-General Harrison, and the king's intercepted letter in the *Parliamentary History* (xx. 12, 14, 15, 48), and also in the *Perfect Diurnal* of August 16. (*C. W. T.* 291.) Clarendon's account of the fight at Warrington bridge is as follows:

> Upon the appearance of that body of Lambert's the whole army was drawn up, and appeared very cheerful. The king having observed David Leslie throughout the whole march sad and melancholy, and that, at a time when the enemy retired, and plainly at a quicker pace than a good retreat used to be made, he was slow in giving orders, and riding by himself, his majesty rode up to him and asked him with great alacrity how he could be sad when he was at the head of so brave an army (which he said looked well that day), and demanded how he liked them, to which David Leslie answered him in his ear, being at some distance from any other, that he was melancholy indeed, for that he knew well that army, how well soever it looked, would not fight, or as the Scotch had it, "but I ken weel that they winna feight," which the king imputed to the chagrin of his humour.

Some have thought that Leslie and the king's commanders made a great mistake not to force Lambert to a general engagement, when his rout would probably have ensued; but perhaps this backwardness was the result of that want of concord between the Scotch and the English, which was one cause of the ruin of the enterprize. An entry in the Warrington register shows that one of the king's followers, who received his death wound either in the skirmish at the bridge there, or which is still more likely in the fight in Wigan lane, returned to Warrington to leave his bones there. The entry runs thus:

> 1651 August. Buried Walter Hoape servant to the Duke of Buckingham 26th.

The duke, the Zimri of Dryden, passing through Warrington with the king, perhaps left his servant behind with instructions to fol-

low him with Lord Derby to Worcester. A Major John Harlinge, who marched into England with his majesty, was taken prisoner at Warrington. (Greene's *Calendar of State Papers.*)

NOTE 127. That is on Friday the 15th of August.

NOTE 128. This is a township in the parish of Kirkham.

NOTE 129. By the ford at Clifton, it is supposed.

NOTE 130. The interview took place at or near Northwich on Sunday the 17th August. (*C. W. T.* 293.)

NOTE 131. His lordship had an interview with Massey and the Lancashire ministers at Warrington on the 20th August. (Seacome's *Memoirs of the House of Stanley*, 128, 129, 130.)

NOTE 132. The fight in Wigan lane, of which a full account may be seen in Lilburn's and Birch's letters in the *Parliamentary History*, (xx. 34, 35) took place on the 24th August: the interval, therefore, was not so long as ten days.

NOTE 133. Colonel Birch's letter shews that only a small part of the Chester forces were present and assisting at the battle in Wigan lane.

NOTE 134. A Roger Cotterell is mentioned as a lieutenant in Lord Brook's regiment on the Parliamentary side, the same regiment in which John Morris, afterwards so famous on the king's side, also served. But it is not likely that Roger Cotterell, like his fellow soldier Morris, had now changed sides. It is more likely that he was the lieutenant-colonel of his name who was governor of Pontefract for the Parliament in 1648. (Peacock's *Army List of the Civil Wars*, 33.)

NOTE 135. On Monday the 25th August.

NOTE 136. Saturday the 23rd August.

Note 137. Were these the Cheshire militia who Oldmixon says marched to resist the king's advance? (*H. England*, ii. 395.) The pay of the Cheshire brigade, of which these troops were a part, remained long in arrear; and so late as December 1656 their petition to be paid their arrears of pay "since Worcester fight" was before the House, and Cromwell is reported to have said that the brigade had borne a great share in the heat of that day. (Burton's *Diary*, i. 200.)

Note 138. Saturday the 23rd August.

Note 139. This person's escape bears some resemblance to the subsequent escape of his royal master at Boscobel.

Note 140. Was this Thomas Butler of Kirkland, afterwards a captain under Charles Earl of Derby, and who was aged twenty-nine in 1665, or was it Henry Butler of Rawcliffe or his son Richard? (*H. Lancashire*, iv. 449, 471.)

Note 141. Possibly Robert, second son of Robert Hesketh of Rufford, who compounded for his estates in 1646 and died in 1653. (*H. Lancashire*, iii. 426, 427.)

Note 142. It is not known where the Maynes is.

Note 143. There was a Richard Jolly, quarter-master of the fourteenth regiment, but no Robert Jolly occurs in the *Parliamentary Army List.*

Note 144. From the scene of the rout at Wigan the earl hastened with all speed to Worcester and there joined the king. It has not been ascertained where he rested the first night. The Scots (horse, it is presumed) fled from the field with such speed that on the following day (Thursday) at three p.m. they reached Sandbach, seventy miles off, where, it being the market-day, the townsmen and the country people attacked them with clubs and staves and the poles of their stalls. (*C. W. T.* 309; Oldmixon, *H. England*, ii. 397; *H. Cheshire*, iii. 60.) Mr. Newcome says:

I preached at Sandbach on the 7th September (the battle of Worcester was on the 3rd). The poor Scots were miserably used in the country, and so many of them put into the church that I could not preach in it. (Newcome's *Autobiography*, *C. S.* i. 33.)

Another portion of the flying Scots, to the number of five hundred, passed over the ferry at Hollins Green, not daring to attempt the bridge at Warrington, which was in the possession of the enemy and kept against them. (Harrison's letter, September 7th, *C. W. T.* 307, in notes.)

NOTE 145. See *note* 27 *ante*.

NOTE 146. The author here fully confirms the earl's statement on his trial that he surrendered himself a prisoner to Captain Edge upon a promise of quarter.

NOTE 147. Colonel Robert Dukenfield was of Dukenfield in Cheshire, and the representative of an ancient family there. In 1643, when he was only twenty-four, he was made a commissioner to raise money for the Parliament, and to sequester delinquents' estates. In 1644 he was sent with Colonel Mainwaring of Kermincham to oppose Prince Rupert's passage of the bridge at Stockport. He was subsequently much engaged for the Parliament, and in 1645 he wrote to Sir Samuel Luke (the supposed original of *Hudibras*) the following letter, which explains the allusion to the mutiny in Sir George Boothe's letter (see page 123 *ante*), and is curious in other particulars:

Hon^ble^ Sir,

I was in hopes to have waited on yee myselfe before this time, but y^e^ enemy hath been so active lately as to keep me in imployment heere since they threaten these p^ts^. Y^e^ necessity of my regim^t^ of troope compells me to send y^e^ bearer hereof to London, to move for some pay for my men, who waite for a *good* answeare by him speedily, otherwise they will disband. My troope was the first served in these p^ts^ of y^e^ kingdome for y^e^ Parliament, and have continued a compleate troope above 2 yeares and a halfe until this present, for very little pay w^ch^ is upon account; for y^e^ last twelvemonth they have rec^d^ 215^li^ 14^s^ from y^e^ publique and noe more. Sir W^m^ Brereton allowes his own troope double pay to y^e^ rest w^ch^ is contrary to an ordinance of Parl^t^, especially my men having served so long. My reg^t^ hath passed upon very hard duty for this twelvemonth, espetiall y^e^ last winter at the seidge of Beeston Castle, and in Worral where many of my men were lost and maimed, for all which service they have rec^d^ but a month's pay, and now begin to mutiny and will breake presently, unless

some competent meanes bee allowed y^m^. Besides I have spent and lost 1000^li^ in this service, and I have not rec^d^ yett y^e^ value of 6^d^ towards my owne pay. W^t^ prisoners or prize hath been taken by my soldiers I have made no advantage thereof, but it is set down in my accompts. Sir, I desire you will be pleased to direct and assist y^e^ bearer hereof how to prefere y^e^ peticion to y^e^ Parl^t^ in y^e^ behalfe of my soldiers and myself, and y^t^ you would please to dispatch his business presently, to procure me some allowance for my past charges and pay already due for the maintenance of my soldiers and troope. I am very unwilling to have y^m^ disbanded, if y^e^ Parl^t^ would please to take notice of their former service. This county hath been so longe y^e^ seate of warre as it is now become poore and in a miserable condition, much occasioned by y^e^ sad divisions between Sir W^m^ Brereton and y^e^ rest of o^r^ deputy l^ts^ and officers, which will grow worse every day untill some of y^m^ bee removed or reproved y^t^ are most in fault. I have sent W^m^ Davenport further instructions and propositions to acquaint you with and to entreate yo^r^ direcion how to make use of you. I intend to waite on you myself earo long, and desiring your pardon for my boldness to trouble you herein,

I rest yo^r^ kinsman to command,

ROBT. DUCKENFIELD.

Duckenfield, 5^th^ Apr. 1645.

In 1649 he was named by Parliament a member of the high court of justice, but being high-sheriff of Cheshire that year, and probably not wholly approving of the proceedings, he never sat on the king's trial, and so escaped the dangerous distinction of being one of his judges. In 1650 he was made governor of Chester castle, and the next year he sat on the court-martial which tried Lord Derby, and in the October of that year the widowed countess surrendered to him the Isle of Man for the Parliament. From the Protector, after his exaltation, he re-received some warm solicitations to join his administration, — solicitations accompanied by a commission authorizing him to raise a regiment of horse in Cheshire; in answer to which the colonel wrote from Dukenfield, March 23, 1654–5, one of the sincerest letters that perhaps his highness received, in which he declines the proffered honour, because, "though his endeavours in that way had been very successful, yet they had been taken in ill part; and that county especially was so wonderfully impoverished, that without destroying it, not many soldiers could be raised in the way the Protector intended; and because the extremes of the levelling party running so furiously did, as he humbly conceived, drive his highness upon direct contrary extremes; and he desired, he said, to imitate Caleb and Joshue in the wilderness, as near as he could, and not seek a controversy with those who limit God to their passions,

and against whom God hath an evident controversy." He then tells Oliver, that "he firmly believes that the root of the tree of piety is alive in him, though the leaves thereof, through the abundance of temptation and flatterers, seemed to him to be much withered of late, yet he hoped time and experience would have a good influence on his lordship, *Deo juvante*." He then goes on to say, that "although he preferred his own quiet and obscure condition, with which he was much delighted, and that for preferment he had no desire, still, at the Protector's request, he would take a military command;" to which, however, he appends two reasonable conditions; "first, that his soldiers should have a fair remuneration for their services when disbanded; and next, that they might not be chosen from such as were the Protector's superficial and dissembling friends, and whom he well knew, and would have little to do with unless forced to it." The letter winds up with the declaration, "how much rather he would risk his life and estate in continental than civil warfare;" and warns the Protector "of the growing feeling of distaste for himself and his measures in these parts, and the correspondingly increasing desire for the restoration of Charles Stuart, who," he says, "will find you work enough whilst he lives."

For some period after this, the conduct of Colonel Dukenfield excited the distrust of the Protector's emissaries, for in the same year Major-General Worsley writes to Secretary Thurloe that he thinks it right to inform him that Colonel Dukenfield, whom they heard had been named for the office of high-sheriff, was the only person who declined, as one of the commissioners for Cheshire, to obey the orders of the Protector and his council. And again, in the following year, there is a warning from Major-General Bridge, written from Middlewich, having reference to the same subject. After the death of the Protector, however, he again took up arms in earnest on behalf of the old cause, and was mainly instrumental in quelling the rising of the celebrated Sir George Booth in favour of the exiled king. For this service he had two hundred pounds voted by the Parliament. He was, nevertheless, one of those who joined a memorial addressed to the Parliament shortly afterwards, complaining of their supineness with reference to the late rise, and of the inadequate compensation granted to those who had aided in its suppression; and, in addition to this, he was at the head of the party that waylaid the Speaker Lenthall on his

way to the House, and compelled him to retreat to his own residence. These differences between the army and Parliament were for the time settled by the council of state; but a party "divided against itself" could not long maintain its position, and matters, even at this period, were gradually paving the way for the Restoration. After the last event had taken place, Colonel Dukenfield was put upon his trial for the part he had taken in the court-martial on Lord Derby; and afterwards suffered imprisonment in the county on a pretended charge of his being concerned in an attempt to seize the king, &c., and to restore the Parliament. Royal favour, however, smiled once more upon his family, and during the Colonel's life time his son received a baronetcy at the hands of Charles the Second. Colonel Robert Dukenfield died on the 18th September 1689, and was buried in Denton chapel three days after. (Barlow's *Cheshire Associations*, p. 12, from which this account of Colonel Dukenfield is principally taken.)

Note. 148. Colonel John Jones was a gentleman of some estate in Wales, and the assertion of Bates, Noble and other partisan writers, that he was of mean extraction and in his early years was a serving man in London, appears destitute of foundation. It is said that he was related to Sir Thomas Middleton, and went to London in 1613, the year when that gentleman was serving the office of lord mayor. On the 22nd of July 11 Charles I., John, the son of Edward Jones of Newbon in Cardiganshire, was admitted of Lincoln's Inn, and this may be the future colonel who, in the times of trouble which followed, exchanged his robe for the sword. He began his military career as a captain of foot in the Parliament service. He took part in the siege of Chester, and was afterwards governor of Anglesey. In 1647 he was returned to Parliament as member for Merionethshire. At this time he was in favour with Cromwell, whose sister Catherine he married, after the death of her first husband Captain Roger Whitstone. In the same year he was sent as one of the commissioners for the government of Ireland, where he began his reforms by correcting some abuses in the brewing of ale, and excluding from public employment all such persons as were known to frequent tippling houses. He was armed also with military powers, and upon the advance of a strong party of the rebels under the Marquis of Ormonde, Jones attacked and routed them, which led to the surrender of Dublin

to the Parliament. After this he sustained a severe reverse from the forces under Lord Preston, but his was the brave spirit which hears and heeds the warning "Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito," and a short time afterwards meeting the same enemy again near Trim, he attacked and so completely routed them that nearly six thousand were put *hors de combat*. The result of this battle was that nearly twenty places in Ulster were recovered to the Parliament. In 1649 he sat as one of the king's judges, but he must have returned to Ireland soon afterwards and continued there some years, as his long correspondence, beginning the 3rd of September 1651 and continuing to the 4th of April 1660, shews. (*Liverpool Historic Society's Proceedings for* 1860–61, pp. 177 to 300.) The correspondence is for the most part on the public affairs of Ireland and Colonel Jones's government, but the following letter, referring to a picturesque and now almost obsolete sport, gives an example of his style:

To Maior Sallway,

I have adventured once more to convey unto you a cast of hawkes by the bearer (being a ffalken and a tassell), if they come not to yr hands in good condiĉon, I desire he may not receave any incouradgmt by yor bounty towards him. As to the hopefullness of their being as serviecable as usually creatures of theire kind are, I must wholely depend upon my good friend yt helpes mee toe them, not haveing any judgment to deceme the goodness of them. The Lord keepe your speritt constantly upon the wing yt the marrow and substance of your delight may be above any earthly creatures or comforts, and that those greate endowments which God hath qualifyed you with to deceme things beyond the ordinary pitch of men, may not be like your high flown hawkes, who although they be carryed up farr above the earth, yett they have their backes towards heaven, and their eyes are fixed upon the earth.

Your most affectionate frind and very reall servant,

Droghedagh, J. Jones.
August 19, 1652.

In the account given in the previous pages (see p. 82) it is said that the Earl of Derby was guarded to Bolton on the 15th of October 1651 by two troops of Colonel Jones's horse. These were probably selected for their tried fidelity, and although he is not mentioned there is some reason to think that Colonel Jones himself was in the neighbourhood, for there occurs a remarkable break in his correspondence from the 16th of September to the 19th of November in that year, shewing that he was then absent from Ireland.

It has been supposed that Colonel Jones was the author of two

scarce law books, the one called the *Examination of the Observations upon his Majesty's Answers*, London 1643, and the other *The Judges Judged*, London 1650. But those works were more probably from the pen of some professional lawyer, and the last of them is expressly stated to be by "J. Jones, gent."

In 1657 he was in such favour that the Protector made him one of his lords, besides which he received from the Parliament, in reward for his services in Ireland, a grant of lands there and a sum of 3000*l.* in money. In 1659, in the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, Colonel Jones was again made one of the commissioners for Ireland, and went over there with General Ludlow, the commander-in-chief of the forces and one of his colleagues, who soon afterwards, feeling entire confidence in Colonel Jones, returned to England and left him as his deputy, at which Steele, the haughty chancellor, taking umbrage, departed for England, leaving the whole government in Colonel Jones's hands. In the meantime, Lambert having turned out the Rump Parliament, and there being a committee of safety appointed, a party of discountenanced officers seized on Colonel Jones, and having possessed themselves of the castle of Dublin, and declared for a free Parliament, kept Colonel Jones a close prisoner until another turn of the wheel brought back the Rump Parliament into power, when he was sent for to England. But before his arrival the secluded members had regained the reins of power, and persons of his principles were in great danger. He therefore tried to conceal himself, but walking one evening after nightfall in the neighbourhood of Finsbury, he was recognized, and being taken into custody was sent prisoner to the Tower and there kept in chains. But this did not impair his fortitude, nor lessen either his tranquility or his cheerfulness. He bore his imprisonment with calm resignation. Observing one of Colonel Scroop's children weeping for her father, one of his fellow prisoners, he took her by the hand and said:

> You are weeping for your father: but supposing he were to be made king of France to-morrow, and you were to tarry a little while behind, would you weep so then? Why he is going to reign with the King of kings in everlasting glory!

And speaking to a friend who had like to have suffered shipwreck in accompanying him to Ireland, he said:

> Ah, dear heart! if you and I had been wrecked in that stormy voyage to Ireland,

and had gone this journey then, we had been in heaven now to have welcomed honest Harrison and Carew; but now we must be content to go after them.

And his beautiful frame of mind while his fate was impending may be seen from the following letter, sent by him to a friend who had written to console him:

I am very much grieved to find (by the note I received from you) such dark and sad apprehensions upon your spirit concerning me. We are all in the hands of the Lord, and what he hath appointed for us will be our portion, and no man can frustrate his holy purpose concerning us, which I question not will be found to be in love, whatever appearance it may have to men. My advice is to you and all that love me, that (in case I be removed from you) you do not either in reality or outward garb mourn for me; but rather rejoice that my portion is in heaven and that my dissolution or removal out of this earthly tabernacle is but in order to my clothing with immortality and possessing my eternal mansion, and to my being for ever with Christ to behold his glory; and therefore that you do not behave yourself as those who have no hopes but of this life.

Secondly: That you take off your mind from me and fix it unmoveably upon your eternal relation, the Lord Jesus Christ, in whose glorious and blessed presence we shall meet ere long, to our eternal rejoicing. It is the goodness of the Lord to us, to remove all creature-comforts from us that our souls might have no resting place to delight in, or to promise them safety, until we return to the ark of his testimony, the bosom of his love, manifested and exhibited for us in our blessed Lord Jesus Christ.

I write in haste, therefore excuse my abruptness.

Thine in sincere love,

Tower, Sept. 19, 1660. JOHN JONES.

Being brought to trial for his share in the king's death on the 12th of October 1660, he declined to plead in justification, saying that he could only urge the same arguments that had been urged and overruled in the case of his fellow prisoners who had been before tried, and he therefore pleaded only the general issue, on which he was found guilty and sentenced to die. On the following Wednesday he, with Thomas Scott, Gregory Clement, Adrian Scroop and Francis Harker, were drawn through the city of London to Charing Cross, the place of execution. As he entered the sledge he said it seemed to him "like the fiery chariot of the prophet Elijah!" On the way to execution his calm but grave and becoming aspect struck all who saw him with admiration. On the scaffold he said that "it was power that made the law: for that some years before he and his party had the power in their hands, and that whatsoever they did at that time was accounted law, and executed accordingly. That now that the king executed the law upon them, he did

nothing but what he would have done himself were he in the king's case; for that the king did but act like a loving and dutiful son towards a dear and loving father!" This language should redeem Colonel Jones from the character of being a blind fanatic. In another short speech he exculpated himself from the charge of any malice against the late king, and then kneeling down, in a short but earnest prayer commended himself to God, and then calmly submitted to his fate. The executioner's assistant finished the tragedy, the executioner himself having already executed three other persons the same day, and having sickened at the sight of so much blood.

Colonel Jones was a man of great abilities and as great piety. We may regret that he imbibed such extreme views in politics and religion, but we must admire the consistent loyalty with which he adhered to them. His courage and his piety attended him to the last.

In Caulfield's *High Court of Justice*, London 1820, a scarce book, from which most of the foregoing facts respecting Colonel John Jones have been obtained, there is a good octavo print portrait of him, in which, as a friend observes, the features are so peculiar that, if there be any authority at all for a portrait of Colonel John Jones, this must be a likeness.

Note 149. Captain Sankey probably sprang from the village of that name near Warrington. He may be the Edward, son of Richard Sankey gentleman, whose baptism is recorded in the Warrington register on 21st February 1621, and also the person mentioned by Burghall as a captain in Sir William Brereton's horse on 20th June 1643, and who is also mentioned in Mr. Davenport's note. (*H. Cheshire*, iii. 400.) But it was probably not he but a greater person of his name, Sir Jeremie Sankey, who is intended by the satirical verses preserved by Mr. Halliwell:

> Lancaster's mad,
> And Eaton's as bad;
> Mainwaring looks like an ape;
> Oxly is naught,
> And Sankey was caught
> When he was in a captain's shape.

When Cromwell and Fairfax were entertained at Oxford in 1640, Jerome Sankey, fellow of All Souls', was one of the proctors. Anthony

Wood says he was a "boisterous fellow at cudgelling and football playing." In the beginning of the rebellion he threw off his gown, took up arms for the Parliament, and rose to a command. He was one of the few persons knighted by Cromwell. In 1654 he was M.P. for Tipperary and Waterford, in 1656 for Marlborough, and in 1658–9 for Woodstock.

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